

Sociology and Social . . . Research . . . AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Technology as Environment 3
 WILLIAM F. OGBURN

Labor Under Review: 1955 10
 MELVIN J. VINCENT

Social Class and Social Perception 18
 CHARLES B. SPAULDING

"Outsider's" Role in Field Study 27
 H. M. TRICE

Factors in Intellectual Roles 33
 WILSON RECORD

Ignorance About Correctional Work 39
 J. ROY LEEVY

Problems in Sociological Research 42
 DONALD S. DUSHKIND

Integration and International Institutes . . 46
 EMORY S. BOGARDUS

Pacific Sociological Notes 51

Peoples and Culture . . . 52 Social Theory and Research 71
 Social Problems and Welfare 60 Social Photoplay Notes . . 78
 Other Books Received . . . 78

VOL. 41 SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1956 No. 1
 YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50 SINGLE COPIES, 70 CENTS

Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY PARK, LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Editor

Emory S. Bogardus

Managing Editor

Martin H. Neumeyer

News Notes Editor

Edward C. McDonagh

Associate Editors

Robert A. Ellis

Harvey J. Locke

George B. Mangold

Bessie A. McClenahan

John E. Nordskog

James A. Peterson

Georges Sabagh

Melvin J. Vincent

University of
Southern California

Advisory Editors

Jessie Bernard.....	Pennsylvania State University
Herbert Blumer.....	University of California
Leonard Broom.....	University of California, Los Angeles
Ernest W. Burgess.....	University of Chicago
F. Stuart Chapin.....	University of Minnesota
George M. Day.....	Occidental College
John L. Gillin.....	University of Wisconsin
A. B. Hollingshead.....	Yale University
Katharine Jocher.....	University of North Carolina
William Kirk.....	Pomona College
Paul H. Landis.....	State College of Washington
Andrew W. Lind.....	University of Hawaii, Hawaii
George A. Lundberg.....	University of Washington
Radhakamal Mukerjee.....	Lucknow University, India
Meyer F. Nimkoff.....	Florida State University
Pitirim A. Sorokin.....	Harvard University
Leopold von Wiese.....	University of Cologne
Kimball Young.....	Northwestern University
Florian Znaniecki.....	University of Illinois

Contributed materials which appear in *Sociology and Social Research* do not necessarily express the opinion or the policy of the editorial staff and publisher.

PUBLISHED BY

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS
UNIVERSITY PARK
LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

September-October 1956



TECHNOLOGY AS ENVIRONMENT

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

An amusing pastime is to visit a zoo and guess the natural environment in which the animal lived before it was penned up in a cage. The warm coat of the penguin suggests a cold climate, and the big bodies of the bison indicate an area with plenty of vegetation. Without close examination though, one might not guess certain sheep as dwellers of steep rocky mountains. A biologist, of course, can make a more precise delineation of the habitat of an animal.

The key to success in this guessing game is the idea of adjustment between the animal and the environment, a concept which Charles Darwin has immortalized. Indeed, environment can be defined as something to which animals and plants adjust.

The environment to which plants and animals are adjusted we call natural environment, and we think of it in terms of temperature, altitude, precipitation, atmosphere, soil, water, light, darkness, other animals, and vegetation. But there are other environments. For instance, there is a social environment. Many insects and higher animals live in groups, as do bees, termites, wolves, cattle, apes, and, notably, human animals. Thus men must adjust to their community as well as to nature. The social environment is in addition to the natural environment.

I am now to introduce to you still another environment for man—technology, that is, the material products of technology, which is the implication of the word *technology* in the title. The word is used loosely to comprise the applications of scientific discovery and the material products of technology. In short, it includes the objects of material culture. Thus a technological environment consists of such fabricated objects as buildings, vehicles, processed foods, clothing, machines, ships, laboratories. As an illustration, an urban employee working with the machines in a factory would be working in a technological environment.

A technological environment is not exclusive. Such an employee is also working in a social environment, for he interacts with his fellow employees and employers. He is also working in a natural environment, since he is working in nature's air and light and moisture and pressure.

Environment, as thus thought of, is seen as a sort of envelopment, a near totality in which a man is immersed. Thus a man in a factory is surrounded by technologically produced objects. A wild animal is surrounded by nature. With this enveloping environment a living animal or plant must be in a relationship that is more or less harmonious to its environment. This harmonious relationship relates to the whole environment.

However, an environment consists of parts; that is, it is made up of elements, such as trees, water, houses, foods. Man's adjustment to environment is more appropriately viewed as an adjustment to the various elements that compose the environment. Particularly is his maladjustment seen in reference to some particular element in the environment. Thus an animal from the tropics is maladjusted to the cold of the arctic. People have died for lack of vitamin C or because of so small an object as the proboscis of the anopheles, carrying even smaller objects, protozoans, that produce malaria. Animals adjust, as well as maladjust, to small elements of environment. Thus tens of thousands of sheep have been prevented from dying by adding 1 part of cobalt to 2,000,000 parts of water, and have thus become adjusted to those grazing lands where there was no trace of cobalt.

So, in thinking of our technological environment, it is well to think of it in terms of the individual elements to which we adjust. Thus the tin can is an invention of a century ago to which we adjust by processing food in factories instead of in the family kitchen and so letting the housewife spend more of her time elsewhere than in the kitchen.

The technological elements are many, counted in the millions; comparable to though not so numerous as the elements in our natural environment. They also vary greatly in size, from say a needle to a skyscraper office building. A large object like a skyscraper, however, may not bring about as much adjustment on our part as does the tiny needle. The extent of adjusting we do to a technological element is not closely related to its physical size, nor is the complexity of an element of technology an indication of the amount of adjusting we may make. The electronic digital computers that perform the seemingly magical functions of an electrical brain are an extraordinarily complex invention, yet they may call forth less adjusting than the simple invention of the wheel.

We have been using the expression *the amount of adjusting*. That there are degrees of adjustment may appear strange to those who derive their concept of adjustment from biology, where the measure of adjustment is living and of the lack of adjustment is death. But the extent of adjustment varies, especially in the human individual. Being sick is not as good an adjustment as being well. A neurotic has a less satisfactory adjustment than a normal person. The word *adaptation* implies variation more than the word *adjustment*. Thus varying degrees of adaptation are suggested by such terms as *strain, tension, nervousness, vitality, energy, illness, strength*.

Another extension of the meaning of adjustment is necessary when such a term is taken from biology and applied to humans living in communities. In biology we think of an individual living or dying because of adjustment or lack of it, or of an aggregation of individuals. But with humans, aggregations are societies, and their group life is characterized by various institutions such as schools, families, churches, states, clubs, economic and political organizations. When humans adjust to environment by groups as well as by individuals, their group adjustment implies changes in social activities such as those of religion, education, marriage, political and productive occupations. The lower animals have no schools and no churches, no parliaments and no factories. Though the lower animals live in groups, their group adaptation is not greatly different from the adaptation of a group of plants. In either case group adaptation to environment is something like the arithmetic sum of the adaptation of a collection of individuals.

But with humans, the adjustment of a collection of individuals is an adjustment of their group life and may mean an adjustment of their schools, factories, parliaments, and churches. In other words, with mankind, adjustment to environment means more than life and death of an aggregation of individuals; it means degrees of adaptation of social institutions and customs.

Thus when we added the steam engine to our technological environment and applied mechanical power to our tools instead of muscle, we worked in large buildings called factories instead of in the family dwelling. Hence our adjustment to this technological element, the steam engine, meant an adjustment of the institution of the family and of our economic institutions.

One of the earliest technological changes in our environment concerned producing fire by friction. Before the acquisition of fire, the habitat of early man was Africa and Southern Asia. He could not go outside this area because of the cold and the shortage of fruits. But when

fire was used in cooking, the hard indigestible fibers of many plants and leaves were more edible. By migration, his food supplies could be increased greatly and he could live outside the semitropics. Thus the adaptation to fire was migration, and men thus were spread more widely over the earth than any other animal.

For hundreds of thousands of years men were wanderers, within a generally large though limited area. The little band of humans would eat a locality out of its supply of animals and wild plants and then move on to fresh food supplies. Then was added to his technological environment a most important implement, a digging stick, with which he would dig holes in the ground, drop in a seed, cover it, and then dig away weeds from the growing plant. This digging stick was a simple tool, a hard stick with a point or a flattened bladelike end, as in a small spade, or a stick with a joint at the end which suggests a hoe. Yet the adjustment to this simple digging stick changed the wandering band of a dozen or more individuals to a more or less settled community of several scores of inhabitants. This was quite a change in the social life of man, and sociologists should recognize the influence of technology in this transformation of his society.

Various sociologists in the past have written of the influence of natural environment on our social life, but, strangely, few have studied the influence of the technological environment.

As the hoe evolved into the plough, food was raised from seeds of grasses—notably barley, oats, wheat, and rice, all of which could be preserved longer than fruits; and animal food, particularly milk, was produced from tamed animals. This increased food supply, based upon technology, made possible communities much larger than were possible in the hoe, or digging stick, culture. Villages of several thousand inhabitants were possible where the climate and soil were suitable. In general, early agricultural villages were smaller than these. These early agriculturalists lived compactly in villages and went out to cultivate their fields and tend their flocks. But as the thickly cultivated plants annually took out of the soil chemical elements important for the growth of plant food, the soil became less fertile and the villagers with their ploughs, domesticated animals, and seeds moved on to seek new lands. To find these lands they often cut and burned the forests. As they came in contact with the peoples living by hunting and gathering wild food, they killed them, conquered and married them, or enforced their culture on them. So the world became peopled by agriculturalists rather than by hunters and gatherers of wild foods. The adjustment to the technology of agriculture led to the replacement of the hunting people and to larger communities.

These adaptations I have just recounted—namely, migrations, increases in population, and stability of residence—are only the immediate adjustments that come directly from the uses of these technological elements. But the group adjustment to technological environment is more complex than the adjustment of the lower animals. Group adjustment to a technological element is made only in a few customs or institutions, not in the totality of them. The first adaptations are those coming from direct uses. But to these changed customs and institutions coming directly from their use, secondary, indirect, or derivative adjustments are in turn made.

Thus the first direct adjustment to the technology that increases the food supply and makes it more assured from season to season and from year to year is a larger population. But the adjustment in turn to a larger population may be a greater division of labor, a specialization of occupation, different religious ceremonies, a differentiation of age societies, or the creation of social classes. These are derivative adaptations to the original or direct adaptation to the technological innovation. The original or direct adaptation is a change in some element or part of the society which we may call A. A, then, has adjusted to T, the technological innovation. But in a society there are other parts or elements than A, as for instance, B, C, D, etc., where other elements B, C, D, etc., may be interconnected with A. Hence B, C, D, etc., adapt to the new adaptations of A, which has resulted from an adaptation to T.

Men adjust to the steam engine by letting it drive their tools for them. Consequently, they work away from home in factories. Then the family, a social institution, adjusts to the absence of workers and to the new production and to the additional source of income. The adjustments in the family are the decline in the authority of the husband and father, the removal of economic production from the home, the separation of husband and wife, and the different type of education for the children. These are not the direct adaptations to the steam engine but are adaptations to the uses of steam-driven tools away from the homestead.

These derivative or indirect adaptations to the technological elements in our environment are not usually recognized or appreciated, for many sociologists are interested more in descriptions than in causes, and when they search for causes they look only to the direct cause, not to the derivational causes. Causes are like links in a chain and occur in a succession. A sequence may begin with an adjustment A to a technological element T. B, another adjustment in another element of society, is seen as an adjustment to A but not to T. The decline in the authority of the husband and father in the family is not interpreted as an adjust-

ment to the steam engine, but only as an adjustment to the transfer of production away from the home, which was in turn an adjustment to the steam engine. The most numerous adjustments to a technological environment are the derivative ones! for any one direct adaptation to a technological element creates a change in a custom or an institution, to which several other customs or institutions will adjust. But commonly these derivative adjustments are not seen as adjustments to the technological element in the first instance.

However, there are some reports of both direct and derivative adjustments to a technological element. Ralph Linton¹ has studied the Tamala adjustments to the technology of a wet rice cultivation. Formerly the people had cultivated dry rice, which required a large or joint family. Under the wet cultivation, a single family, instead of a joint family, did the work, and the village became permanent. The displaced families moved off into the jungle to seek new fields, but the kinship ties of the joint family held, and a tribal organization developed through intermarriage. With the increased wealth and property came kings, slaves, and warfare.

Similarly, in several different parts of the world the adjustment to cattle raising has led to increased stealing, to war, to slavery, and to the creation of a nobility.

The most extensive adaptations to a technological environment are not to a single element but to a cluster of elements. Thus cities were a dramatic community adjustment to three basic technological elements: (1) an agricultural technology which enabled a farm family to feed more than its members, (2) a transportation technology which would bring food into the city and goods exchanged out of the city, and (3) tools of manufacture. With cities, as all sociologists know, came radical changes in many customs and institutions.

So also the modern family in the United States and Western Europe is an adaptation to a cluster of technological and scientific elements, namely, the steam engine, contraceptives, and scientific discoveries affecting religion. Religious beliefs have made extensive adaptations to scientific discoveries which affected the forms of belief in miracles, healing, life after death, the location of heaven and hell, and creation.

The technological environment in modern times differs from natural environment in that it changes more rapidly. Natural environment has changed: four times Northern Europe and America were covered with

¹ Ralph Linton and Abram Kardiner, "The Change from Dry Rice to Wet Rice Cultivation in Tanala-Betsileo" in the *Individual and His Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

glaciers, but these glaciers came and went only a few feet a year; whereas in modern times there have come, within a couple of centuries, the steam engine, the internal combustion engine, the dynamo, and now the atomic reactor. The railroad, the automobile, the airplane, and now the guided missile have come in an equally short time. Quite as rapid has been the advent of the telephone, radio, motion picture, television, microfilm, the tape recorder, and now the putting of vision on magnetic tape.

Unlike the natural environment, the technological environment is a huge mass in rapid motion. It is no wonder then that our society with its numerous institutions and organizations has an almost impossible task in adjusting to this whirling technological environment. It should be no surprise to sociologists that the various forms and shapes which our social institutions take and the many shifts in their function are the results of adjustments, not to a changing natural environment, not as a result of a changing biological heritage, but as adaptations to a changing technology.

LABOR UNDER REVIEW: 1955

MELVIN J. VINCENT

University of Southern California

Everything seemed to be moving at a fast clip during 1955. Population, labor, and industry were all growing apace. Generally, the over-all picture revealed that management was soaring to new high levels of profits, labor was getting more in weekly wages, and consumers were frisky with credit installment purchases.

Population forged ahead with a huge 167 million people as estimated by the Bureau of the Census (crude birth rate 25.2; crude death rate 9.2). Employment in midsummer reached a peak of 65 million, highest mark in the nation's history. Unemployment averaged about 2,650,000, or 4 per cent of the labor force. The largest portion of the increase in the labor force was accounted for by the entrance of women, the average level being given as 20.8 million.

The economy of the United States stood at a mark indicating prosperity. Most of the major corporations' ledgers showed figures that were the delight of stockholders (General Motors announced in November profits of over one billion; in 1916 the net profits of 80,000 U.S. manufacturing corporations were four billion), and wages were being increased through collective bargaining contracts so that the average hourly earnings for workers hit a high of \$1.83 (68¢ an hour in 1941). The principle of the guaranteed annual wage came into being when Ford and General Motors embraced it in their new contracts with the UAW. Higher pensions, cost-of-living wage increases, improved disability benefits, better medical and health-care benefits, more life insurance awards were likewise prominent in the picture of the signing of many new collective bargaining contracts. The minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act was raised to \$1 per hour. Automation proceeded with great strides, its application to both mental and physical tasks foreshadowing the rise of many new electronic industrial operations, and, according to many interested observers, more leisure time for workers, more skilled workers, and new types of industrial education and training. Others saw in automation a threat to the unskilled, unemployment, curtailed purchasing power, and increased governmental security benefits. Its introduction implies great and almost immediate social and industrial change.

For labor, the year was climaxed by the merging of the two great labor organizations into a new 15-million-member organization to be known officially as the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. George Meany became its first president, and Walter Reuther its first vice-president. Organized labor could now content itself with the fact that it was bigger than ever before and was in a position to command recognition because it was more secure than at any time in its history.

The following events have, as usual, been selected from press dispatches, newsweeklies, telecommunications materials, CIO and AFL research documents, pamphlets and news bulletins, and the U.S. Department of Labor's *Monthly Labor Review*. Some of the items have indicated the paths of progress that labor has taken during the year, while other items may point to trends in the immediate future. Barring another world war catastrophe, the optimists predict that with the further application of automation and atomic energy uses to industry and the continued expansion of population, American productivity and output will assume new proportions (productivity expanded 35 per cent during the first 5 years of the 1950's), the average work week will be less than 40 hours, the average family income will reach \$6,000 annually, substandards of living will be lessened, and the amount of leisure time will be augmented considerably.

The events follow:

JANUARY

United Auto Workers (CIO) begin war of nerves for securing the guaranteed annual wage with the drive for a 25-million-dollar strike chest. Reuther claims that auto industry can well afford 52 pay checks a year for its workers by responsible planning.

NLRB holds an employer guilty of refusing to bargain when he provides a union with payroll data only for employees assenting.

Presidential Executive Order establishes a Committee on Government Employment Policy to advise the President periodically whether Federal civilian employment practices conform to enunciated policy of non-discrimination.

Thirteen nonoperating railroad unions ratify agreement with railroads to establish program of hospital, surgical, and medical insurance as recommended by fact-finding board.

U.S. Senate confirms nomination of Joseph F. Finegan of New York as Director of Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service to succeed Whitley P. McCoy, resigned.

California Supreme Court decides that an employer may discharge an employee who is a member of the Communist party.

FEBRUARY

Some unions begin buying stock in major industrial companies.

Meany and Reuther sign 3,000-word agreement to merge AFL with CIO. NAM's President Henry G. Riter III looks at proposed merger and decides it will mean labor monopoly and a multiplication of political and economic pressures.

Federal Court of Appeals for D.C. holds that NLRB cannot deprive a union of its compliance status even if its members know an officer's non-Communist affidavit is false.

Ohio becomes the 18th state to pass a right-to-work law. Such laws outlaw all forms of union security.

U.S. Senate confirms appointment of Judge Boyd Leedom of South Dakota as fifth member of NLRB to succeed Albert C. Beeson.

Average hourly earnings of workers now at \$1.83 an hour as against 68¢ an hour in 1941.

MARCH

Reuther announces that automotive industry is in a mad race for production and warns of danger ahead.

NLRB rules that its jurisdictional standards will be uniformly applied in all U.S. territories as in the 48 states.

UAW holds its 15th annual convention, endorsing the GAW as its immediate goal, and increases its dues by \$5 to augment strike funds.

U.S. Supreme Court reverses Missouri Supreme Court, holding that a state may not invoke an antitrust law to enjoin picketing under the protection of the Taft-Hartley Act. Also rules that the Act does not give Federal courts jurisdiction over a union's suit for wages allegedly owed under a collective bargaining contract.

Sewell Avery (Montgomery-Ward) capitulates to Dave Beck of Teamsters' Union by signing first company-wide union contract in history of the company, 15,000 warehousemen getting a wage boost and a maintenance-of-membership clause.

APRIL

U.S. Supreme Court rules that Federal courts may not interfere in state court proceedings in matters subject to Taft-Hartley except upon request of NLRB pursuant to unfair labor practices complaints.

Supreme Court rules that a union is entitled to receive from an employer essential wage data for collective bargaining; also that a c.b. contract which modified seniority rights by integrating Negro with other employees did not discriminate against white workers.

Secretary of Labor holds that eight small Tennessee coal mines have violated safety measures of Walsh-Healey Act and will not get government contracts (first time law is used).

President Eisenhower lays cornerstone of new AFL headquarters building in Washington—cost \$3½ million.

GAW fight goes on; slogan used: a worker eats 52 weeks a year and he should be paid 52 weeks a year.

MAY

1955's first quarter earnings best for many corporations, corporate profits at a 20-billion-a-year rate.

L & N Railroad strike settled after 57-day strike—longest railway strike since 1922.

Ford warns UAW on striking and makes offer including wage increases for skilled workers, seventh holiday, stock purchase plan, and severance pay, but UAW turns down offer. Ignored GAW.

Benjamin F. Fairless resigns as Board Chairman of U.S. Steel; succeeded by Roger M. Blough, vice-chairman since 1952.

AFL-CIO Joint Unity Committee agree on a new constitution for the merger, with the Executive Councils approving shortly thereafter.

Fourth World Congress of International Confederation of Free Trade Unions opens in Vienna.

CIO Communications Workers get a new one-year agreement with the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company, thus ending a 72-day strike; they are given raises from \$1 to \$4 a week. Freight conductors, brakemen, flagmen, and railway conductors also get more pay from major railroad companies.

Wisconsin passes an act forbidding labor unions and corporations to donate political contributions.

JUNE

38th International Labor Conference meets at Geneva.

Texas passes law making it unlawful for unions to strike or picket against establishments where they do not represent a majority of employees.

Reuther's UAW wins out with Ford. Company accepts direct responsibility for support of workers during layoffs, and the GAW is won in principle, i.e., 65 per cent of pay guaranteed for 26 weeks. New contract gives pay raises, higher pensions, improved disability benefits, better medical and hospital care, more vacation time, a seventh holiday. General Motors follows Ford and provides for full union shop for the first time. Both contracts run for 3 years.

Postal employees receive 6 per cent salary increase.

CIO National Maritime Union gets a new contract with semiannual guaranteed wage embodied. CIO Rubber Workers and B. F. Goodrich Rubber Co. sign a 5-year contract embracing company payments for pension plan and improvements in life and health insurance plans, following precedents set by Goodyear and Firestone.

National Association of Manufacturers and U.S. Chamber of Commerce claim that Secretary of Labor Mitchell has sold out to Labor. Small businessmen are warned by President of Southern Coal Producers' Association that they must raise money to fight as a unit against the GAW, claiming that \$43 billion has been added to the labor costs of the U.S. through fringe benefits.

JULY

Automation arrives in the barnyard. \$18.7 billion now invested in machines on farms; each farmer now feeds himself plus 17 others. (Twenty years ago he fed only 10 others.) Farm corporations are being formed.

CIO Steelworkers get 15¢-an-hour raise from U.S. Steel. Mine, Mill & Smelting Workers also get increases and monthly pensions from \$170 up for workers with 25 years' service.

Attorney General of Michigan rules that supplemental pay provided in Ford and General Motors contract does not constitute wages disqualifying workers from securing unemployment compensation under Michigan's Employment Security Act. Connecticut rules likewise.

AFL-CIO Joint Unity Committee approves new name for merger; it will be known as The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

CIO-UAW found guilty of violating Federal Corrupt Practices Act for spending \$5,985 to influence voting.

34-day strike by AFL Electrical Railway Union against Los Angeles Transit Company ended with signing of new contract giving 14¢-an-hour raise in three steps and 4-week vacations for 25 years of service.

House and Senate pass legislation raising minimum pay of Fair Labor Standards Act to \$1 an hour.

Profits for first half of 1955 soar to new heights. Pepsi Cola net profits rated at \$4,300,000, a gain of 80 per cent over 1954; steel, autos, chemicals also share in huge gains; annual rate of profits for industry now estimated at 21.2 billion.

Hoover Commission reports that government might save 8.5 billion a year if its economy principles were adopted.

AUGUST

President Eisenhower signs minimum wage bill, effective March 1, 1956.

CIO United Steelworkers get 2-year contract with American Can and Continental Can, providing for 65 per cent take-home pay for 52 weeks plus a 13¢-an-hour pay raise.

New 5-year contract signed between CIO International Union of Electrical Workers and General Electric, giving 3 per cent pay increase every year for next 5 years, cost-of-living formula, life insurance plan, and the GAW to be discussed at end of 3 years. AFL Meat Cutters and CIO United Packing House Workers get from Swift & Co. a 14¢-an-hour raise, largest increase ever given in meat industry.

Supreme Court of Indiana refuses to enjoin General Motors from putting into effect the union shop provisions of its new contract. Right-to-work law has suffered three defeats in this state.

Philip Ray Rogers becomes Acting Chairman of NLRB, succeeding Chairman Guy Farmer.

SEPTEMBER

Credit curtailed by raising discount rates, inflation fears growing as auto buying in July becomes three times greater than in 1954.

Chrysler signs standard contract with UAW, with principle of GAW involved. American Motors (Nash-Hudson) signs after 22-hour strike, but UAW relents on starting time—effective September 1956.

NLRB decisions of the month: (1) Unions must honor arbitration clauses in contracts; (2) when a labor union is an employer, Board does not have power to force union to use fair labor practices; (3) unions cannot make "on-the-spot" classification examinations; (4) a company may not insist on a contract guaranteeing a prestrike ballot of workers, either union or nonunion, it being held that unionists and nonunionists voting together would adulterate union's bargaining rights.

American Can Co. offers GAW to three New Jersey plants, but AFL workers reject such, preferring more pay, holidays, and vacations.

Remington-Rand Corporation for first time agrees to accept a union-shop provision in its new contract with the AFL Machinists, and grants wage increases, improved insurance benefits, and employer-paid health and welfare benefits. CIO's UAW and Allis-Chalmers sign contract embodying Supplemental Unemployment Benefits resembling the Ford plan. These have now become known as SUB benefits.

OCTOBER

Business boom still on, with American Telephone & Telegraph earning 169 million during third quarter and I.B.M. getting 38 million for same period; Westinghouse Electric in trouble with profits down 35 per cent, sales down 7 per cent. Company has had 94 work stoppages in first 9 months of year. Union rejects 5-year contract and protests Westinghouse's productivity studies without union cooperation; 46,000 CIO International Union of Electrical Workers walk out, stating that "Time studies only lead to greater work goals."

Railway employees (trainmen, switchmen) get 10½¢-an-hour raise, and after 9 months' negotiations Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen get raise of 17¢ an hour.

Supreme Court of North Carolina rules that a union shop agreement conforming to the Federal Railway Labor Act is valid regardless of North Carolina's right-to-work law forbidding union security provisions.

George Meany awarded Notre Dame Laetare Medal, highest award for Catholic laymen and first time ever given to a labor leader.

NOVEMBER

Automation being heatedly debated as to its effects upon labor. Labor claims that fast introduction will make for colossal productivity, with unemployment and consequent inability to purchase. Management believes U.S. population will be increased by 55 million in 1975, while labor force will grow larger by only 15 million, and that every available worker will have to work more than 40 hours per week to meet the demands of the enlarged economy.

General Motors announces that by the year's end it would earn 1 billion in profits after taxes.

Ford Motor Company reports that it will offer 7 million shares of stock to the public, with the Ford Foundation receiving over 46 million nonvoting shares and the Ford family controlling 40 per cent of voting rights. (Ford profits about 350 million for 1955.)

DECEMBER

Final meeting of the old AFL in New York, while CIO ends its 17-year existence. New merger of AFL and CIO takes place with George Meany as president and 27 vice-presidents, 17 coming from old AFL and 10 from CIO. George Meany invited to speak before National Association of Manufacturers on "What Organized Labor Expects of Management"; NAM's Board Chairman Charles R. Sligh speaks on "What Industry Expects from Organized Labor." Meany appears in a reasonable speech and declares Labor is devoted to the profit system,

management's right to manage, free collective bargaining, and hostility toward Communism. Sligh, more severe, wants irresponsible strikes eliminated, open shop, labor political activities halted. Reporters characterized the meeting as a manifestation of "sweet unreasonableness."

Ford Foundation announces a vast grant of 500 million to be bestowed upon private institutions, universities, medical schools, and hospitals.

Most important gains for labor during the year were: (1) the merger of the AFL and CIO, bringing into one fold more than 15 million workers; (2) the new latent power of the organized to make its demands more effective under a unified command; (3) the recognition of the principle of the guaranteed annual wage, reflecting management's assumption of the responsibility for its workers in times of layoffs.

Most important gains for management were: (1) earnings of many major corporations were at an all-time high; (2) rising productivity, the gross national product brought to a smashing record of 397 billion dollars; (3) a more than favorable administration attitude toward business in general.

Automation received major attention in labor news items. The technological displacement of workers was viewed with varying degrees of alarm by labor leaders. Generally, management saw more production ahead and the rise of new industries. In October, a subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Committee on Economic Policy held hearings on the subject and took testimony from representatives of both labor and management. Some saw in increased automation a new challenge to both; others held that there might be much damage to certain working groups, especially the unskilled. Despite automation, however, unemployment reached a low point of 2,237,000 in midsummer, lowest point since 1953. There were 4,200 strikes during the year, affecting some 28 million workers (1954 had 3,468, affecting about 22 million). Between the major corporations and the major unions, there was evident a spirit of endeavor for more peaceful relationships. Several corporations like General Electric, DuPont de Nemours, and Standard Oil of New Jersey were offering thrift plans to their employees and extending opportunities for buying stock and government bonds. "Make every American a capitalist," was a slogan designed to ruin the Communist cake of promises. There were some indications that labor and management might live peacefully and prosperously together if they would. Such, at least, was the hope of George Meany, AFL-CIO's new president. More production, more wages, more purchasing power, more leisure time, more consumption, more everything!

SOCIAL CLASS AND SOCIAL PERCEPTION

CHARLES B. SPAULDING

*University of California,
Santa Barbara College*

In spite of the confusion which has surrounded the use of the term "social class" in recent American sociological literature, an examination of the research findings justifies the conclusion that a great many Americans on frequent occasions perceive their own positions in the society in such a fashion as to distribute themselves into two broad basic vertical status groupings with possible internal subdivisions and with two very much smaller high and low groupings at the extremes. These divisions may be labeled, in approximate order of numerical significance, working class, middle class, upper class, and lower class. Because of the numbers involved, the most fundamental of these distinctions is that between the business, professional, and white-collar people of the middle class and the relatively stable manual workers who may be designated as the working class. The existence of this fundamental distinction is of vital importance to students of industrial relations, for it is a relevant element in the psychological framework within which these relations must take place.

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CLASS

For a number of years sociologists have been dividing the population into alleged social classes on the basis of various criteria and describing the characteristics of the resulting groupings, but so many questions have been raised concerning the inconsistencies and inadequacies of the various studies that some practitioners have advocated abandoning the term entirely.¹ Many of these difficulties appear to have resulted from the failure to distinguish between the process of classification as performed by some individual mind, the nature of a social class system established by societal consensus, and the use of indices to indicate indirectly the presence or absence of some defined entity—in this case, a social class or class system. These confusions obviously make necessary some pre-

¹ Robert E. L. Faris, "The Alleged Class System in the United States," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society* (published as Vol. XXII, No. 2, *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, June 1954), pp. 77-83, especially p. 83.

liminary analysis of the meaning of "class" or "social class" as used in the ensuing discussion. The definition to be used is borrowed from Cuber and Kenkel, who say:²

Warner, Hollingshead, and West seem to be correct in their approach to "social class" as a group of people *assigned* a more or less similar status, or status range, within the community, using as criteria of this unity the agreements among persons in the community (a) that these units exist, (b) that a certain definite number of people are "in" and "out" of each unit, and (c) that it makes a difference both subjectively and objectively in which segment of the community one is.

From this point of view, a person who studies social classes by assigning people to class levels on the basis of some objective criterion or criteria (such as the amount of their wealth or income, the type of jobs they hold, the kind of houses they occupy, or the people with whom they associate) is not studying social class directly but is either making an arbitrary classification or using some measurable thing as an indicator (usually called an index) of the social class of the persons being studied. This being the case, perfect correlation would scarcely be expected between class as determined by asking people to indicate their own class or that of others and class as determined by objective indices. Incidentally, if a single index is to be used, a sizable body of data suggests that the best single index is the person's occupation.

It also follows from this definition that if class is important in our society, it is because we have a culturally established system for *perceiving* different men to belong to different vertically related categories and, as a result, for treating them in different ways.

LACK OF CONSENSUS CONCERNING AMERICAN SOCIAL CLASSES

The evidence indicates that among the schemes for perceiving the social world which are part of the American tradition is the class scheme, and, if one ventures into any community, he has only to listen to find Americans using it. But there is good ground for believing that it is neither a universal nor a very precise and stable part of their intellectual equipment. When certain writers, such as Hollingshead and Warner, went into carefully selected, isolated, stable, small towns and extracted from the statements and behavior of the people five-level and six-level class systems, they were able to place nearly all the members of these

² John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, *Social Stratification in the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 303. Used with permission.

communities within the resulting systems. The pyramids thus produced wore an air of definiteness and suggested the presence of rather completely separated and generally accepted classes into which all persons could fit themselves and be fitted by their neighbors. Considerable doubt has been raised, however, about the methods used by these writers, the definiteness of the structures depicted, and the applicability of the findings to other communities. Specifically, there is good reason to believe that (1) no agreed-upon number of classes could be found in many communities, (2) there is not even any agreement about the relative prestige of a considerable number of persons, (3) many persons seem unable to think readily in terms of class.

That no clear and sharp consensus exists concerning the class system to be applied to the American people has been recently demonstrated by a number of studies. The study of Lenski is perhaps most useful at this point, if for no other reason than that he seems to have started out with the idea that classes did exist and was then persuaded by the horrible brutality of his facts that he had been in error. When he asked 24 local citizens to rate 150 families of Danielson, he found no agreement upon the number of "classes" into which the families were divided. "One rater used a three-level breakdown, four used a four-level breakdown, seven used a five-level breakdown, nine used a six-level breakdown, and four used a seven-level breakdown. *No one type of breakdown was used by more than 36 per cent of the raters.*"³ The fact that the raters did not agree upon the nature of the class structure did not mean that they could not rank the families presented to them, for indeed they could. The general position of each family in terms of "standing in the community" was relatively consistent. When Lenski reduced all the various class ratings to a roughly comparable numerical index, he found that "more than 87 per cent of the 1,792 ratings fell within 15 points (lower or higher) of the final rating score" for each family.⁴ Cuber and Kenkel, drawing on the work of James West in his study of Plainville, have emphasized the fact that the proportions of the population found in any class as well as the character of categories used vary with the locus of the person perceiving the system.⁵

Even the comfortable finding that the number of drawers in the file may vary but that at least we know what to file above what is challenged in an article by Lasswell.⁶ For not only did he find no agreement on

³ Quoted in Cuber and Kenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 90, from Gerhard E. Lenski, *Prestige, Status and Wealth*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61 ff.

⁶ Thomas E. Lasswell, "A Study of Social Stratification Using an Area Sample of Raters," *American Sociological Review*, 19:310-13, June 1954.

the number of classes to be used in designating the rank of his sample of families drawn from the population of a small town in Southern California, but he found also that only 55 per cent of the families were assigned any reasonably stable prestige rank by the community. "Twenty-nine per cent of the subject families received ratings from the highest through the lowest strata supplied by the respondents, even though they appeared to be fairly well known in Citrus City."⁷ His raters, who were drawn at random from the general populace, also tended to use a wide variety (25 in all) of criteria for determining relative standing, although economic status was the most frequently mentioned. While this wide discrepancy in the choice of criteria by which to judge social class may well account for a considerable part of the variation in the standings assigned to particular families, it certainly does not argue for consensus on the fundamental nature of the class system. Additional evidence that people may live within a community without being rated in any stable fashion by its members is provided in a study of Vansburg by Stone and Form. These authors noted that people like truckers might live in a community without being known and rated and that the status of certain in-migrant groups might be quite indeterminate.⁸

The fact that a considerable portion of the people do not think readily in class terms, as well as the general confusion in the schemes used, is well illustrated by a study conducted in Minneapolis by Neal Gross.⁹ Gross interviewed a sample selected from areas chosen to represent different levels of mean rent within the city. While the sample is not strictly representative of the total population of the city, it is useful for present purposes as an illustration of the various ways in which people react, even if we do not know exactly what proportion of the total population would react in those ways. Gross presented his respondents with the following statements and questions early in his interviews: "There has been a lot of talk recently about social classes in the U.S. I wonder what you think about this. What social classes do you think there are in Minneapolis?" After the answer had been obtained, he then asked, "Which one of these classes are you in?" Only 46 per cent of these people could indicate a class structure for the city and place themselves in it. Thirty-one per cent said they belonged to the middle class, when all answers containing the word "middle" were included in this category:

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁸ Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," *American Sociological Review*, 18:149-62, April 1953, p. 154.

⁹ Neal Gross, "Social Class Identification in the Urban Community," *American Sociological Review*, 18:398-404, August 1953.

The working or laboring class was selected by 11 per cent, the lower class by 3 per cent, and the upper class by 1 per cent. Thirty-four per cent chose no class by answering, "Don't think there are social classes." "I don't belong to any social class," or "Don't know." Fifteen per cent of the respondents gave special answers, such as: poor class, 3 per cent; white class, 1 per cent; employer class, 1 per cent; white-collar class, 1 per cent; and common class, 1 per cent.¹⁰

The logical result of all these data and more like them must be to change the nature of the fundamental questions to be asked by students of American social classes. Rather than asking, "What is *the* class structure of American society?" they will have to ask more complicated questions, among which will be an inquiry concerning, "What schemes of class organization will be used by what people under what circumstances to structure what social situations?" They will also need to inquire into the differential behavioral results of such perceived systems.

ACTUAL USE OF THE CLASS IDEA

Accepting the position that complete uniformity of class perception is not to be expected, information provided by a number of research ventures strongly suggests one basic aspect of a way of structuring the American society widely accepted by, and meaningful to, the people constituting that society. In response to *open-end questions* that request persons to place themselves in a social class, a large number of Americans decide that they are "middle" class, a smaller per cent "working" class, and still smaller groups indicate "upper" and "lower" class positions. Many deny the existence of social classes, and a considerable range of other suggestions is given. As noted in Gross's study, 46 per cent of the people utilized the four class categories mentioned.

That these results are roughly representative is demonstrated by comparison with an earlier study of a national sample by *Fortune* magazine¹¹ and a later one of a sample from Cambridge, Massachusetts, by Kahl and Davis.¹² In the *Fortune* poll published in February of 1940 the question was asked, "What word would you use to describe the class in America to which you belong?" Out of a considerable list of divergent answers, three foci stood out as follows: middle class, 38.6 per cent; working class, 10.6 per cent; and "don't know," 27.5 per cent. Only 1.6 per cent indicated that they were upper class and 1.2 per cent lower

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

¹¹ "The Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, February 1940, pp. 14-28 and 133-36, especially p. 14.

¹² Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, 20:317-25, June 1955.

class. Then happily ignoring one of the most enticing leads in their own data, the *Fortune* pollsters proceeded to organize the rest of their survey in terms of a forced choice between the three traditional categories of upper, middle, and lower class. Whereupon some 79 per cent of the respondents declared themselves to be middle class, and 5.3 per cent declined to state, thus demonstrating the relative uselessness of the traditional European model for comprehending contemporary American relationships. In the Kahl and Davis study the results of an *open-end question* like that of Gross were: upper, 1.4 per cent; middle or synonym, 52 per cent; working or synonym, 13.7 per cent; lower, 2.3 per cent; refuses to state, 17.8 per cent; the remainder (13.2) in scattered answers.¹³

The fact that the most persistent foci in these *open-end questions* turned out to be some sort of middle-class and working-class designations led to the use of a *closed series* of questions dealing with the categories arising out of the open-end interviewing. The results of two national surveys by Richard Centers¹⁴ and of the use of such questions by Gross¹⁵ in Minneapolis and by Kahl and Davis¹⁶ in Cambridge, Massachusetts, showed remarkable stability. The first and second Centers surveys were made in 1945 and 1946 respectively, the Gross survey in 1950, and the Kahl and Davis study in 1953. The percentages claiming upper-class membership for the four surveys in the order as given above were 3, 4, 2, and 4.6; middle-class membership, 43, 36, 42, 43; working-class membership, 51, 52, 45, 47; lower-class membership, 1, 5, 3, 3.2; and other answers, 2, 3, 8, 2.3. Since Gross and Kahl and Davis consciously patterned their questions after those of Centers, the comparison of the studies is entirely justifiable. However, Kahl and Davis asked those respondents who classified themselves as middle class to indicate whether they were upper or lower-middle, and some two thirds were able to do so.

The most obvious difference between the answers to the open-end questions and the closed questions is the much larger proportion of people who place themselves in the working-class pigeonhole under the latter procedure. There is always the possibility that when a person is asked to make a forced choice of this kind, he will choose a category

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 324. Percentages calculated by present author from regrouped data of Table 5, p. 324.

¹⁴ Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 77.

¹⁵ Neal Gross, *op. cit.*, Table 3, p. 401.

¹⁶ Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 324. Percentages calculated by present writer, lumping "upper-middle," "middle or synonym," and "lower-middle" together.

which has no real social meaning for him outside the interview situation. That this is not entirely the case here and that the division of the majority of these various respondents into middle-class and working-class groups represents some actually and normally perceived vertical differentiation is argued by two sets of considerations. In the first instance, the categories themselves were derived from the modal clusters of the open-end interviewing. They seemed to exist in the minds of the population. Second, they were accepted by the various respondents, and this acceptance of the designation "working class" by the bulk of the manual workers was quite in contrast to their rejection of the term "lower class" as a suitable appellation.

Very likely it is the term "working" rather than the term "class" that stimulates the manual workers to set themselves off from the business, professional, and white-collar people. The class idea or concept seems to mean relatively little to the people who work with their hands. In the Kahl-Davis study 26 per cent of those who chose "working class" under the closed questioning denied the existence of class or made no intelligible response under the open-end procedure, while 37 per cent of those making the same choice among the closed questions designated themselves as middle class on the open-end interview.¹⁷ One may guess that the middle-class designation by manual workers on the open question was tantamount to an assertion that classes do not really exist and that most men are middle class. This is in line with a study of another type which shows that lower-class people generally think in less structured terms and on a more immediately personal basis than do persons at the other end of the scale.¹⁸ But the people who work with their hands do recognize that they occupy different statuses from the business, professional, and white-collar members of the labor force. And when they are offered the choice of the term "working class" as a label, they readily accept it. The fact of the psychological differentiation is real; its expression in terms of "class" may be somewhat artificial for these people.

The essential validity of this interpretation of the poll data as showing a strong tendency for the people of this country, *when they think in terms of vertical social differentiation*, to think of themselves as being fundamentally divided along some line running between the working people and the middle class is supported by some of the studies of community life. The Lynds used such a bifurcation in their classic study of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

¹⁸ Leonard Schatzman and Anselm Strauss, "Social Class and Modes of Communication," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60:329-38, January 1955.

Middletown. They used the terms "business class" and "working class" as devices for describing what they had found.¹⁹ Hollingshead found that his raters divided his classes III and IV by the largest average difference of any of the classes. His interpretation of this larger gap is that "the difference of 1.26 class intervals between the mean scores for classes III and IV was indicative of the prestige gulf that exists between the two largest socio-economic groupings in Elmtown, namely, the 'business and professional classes' and the 'working class.'"²⁰

The nature of the basic usage to which this rough scheme for ordering the world is sometimes put may be illustrated by the experiences of two businessmen from different communities, each of whom had taken the lead in negotiating with organized labor as organization had developed. One of the communities was a big city, and the other a small town. But in each case certain business associates reproached these men with the same phrase, namely, "You are a traitor to your class."²¹

No essential incompatibility seems to exist between the conclusions of the present discussion and the findings of those who have argued for the inadequacy of the class concept on the grounds that Americans spread themselves after the fashion of the so-called normal curve in a more or less continuous series along any of the dimensions which are usually thought of as measuring class, community standing, or social position.²² For the point here is not that sharply defined social categories exist which separate the American people into tight, exclusive compartments, but only that on occasions our citizens recognize that there are certain broad groupings of people occupying statuses of sufficient similarity to each other, and of sufficient difference from other groupings, that treating them as classes (or as nominal groups or aggregates) will aid in understanding their behavior. The fact that the actual distributions of people along many of the dimensions used for measuring class position turn out to be described by continuous curves is of no more importance than that a continuous series of eggs may be divided into large, medium, and small categories and sold at different prices. The American people appear to understand both kinds of differences and to use them on selected occasions, applying to the one the term "social class" as a ready

¹⁹ Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), p. 53.

²⁰ August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949), p. 38.

²¹ Author's files.

²² See Cuber and Kenkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 137-53, 303-09; also Stanley Arthur Hetzler, "An Investigation of the Distinctiveness of Social Classes," *American Sociological Review*, 18:493-97, October 1953.

handle for purposes of communication. This method of ordering the social universe does not deny that many people and groups do not fit neatly into the scheme nor that different people on different occasions sometimes utilize different conceptual schemes. After all, eggs can be divided into white, brown, and spotted groups, as well as into small, medium, and large divisions.

Space does not allow the detailed demonstrations of the fact that the tendency to perceive the great majority of the members of our society as being divided into working-class and middle-class groupings has a vital relationship to the facts of American life, but a very brief statement of this relationship may lend a feeling of reality to an essentially abstract discussion. There is a certain polarity in the position of the leading businessmen and the large group of factory workers which makes them symbols of social controversy. Following the Civil War the businessmen came more and more to dominate American life, and their principal opponents were the farmers. But in recent years the manual workers have become a center of opposition. On one dimension after another the opinions of the factory workers are found to constitute the extreme opposition to those of the businessmen,²³ and the manual workers have come to constitute the great voting body of the northern segment of the Democratic Party as it has challenged the heartland of Hooverian Republicanism. Furthermore, each of these polar groups is relatively well represented by dynamic organizations—ready, willing, and able to do battle for its cause. The fact that these representatives of the manual workers and the businessmen frequently meet in open and turbulent contests in the course of their industrial relations undoubtedly sharpens the perceptions of all concerned.

²³ Richard Centers, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

THE "OUTSIDER'S" ROLE IN FIELD STUDY

H. M. TRICE
Cornell University

This report is interested in adding to the growing body of knowledge about the "outsider's" role that is thrust upon a field researcher in almost all situations. Kluckhohn,¹ fifteen years ago, stated that "the investigator is never able to shake off entirely his role of outsider, and I am in accord with those who maintain that it is not advisable for him to do so. Some exceedingly valuable information comes to the outsider simply because he is one." Later Merton states that, in connection with a study of a planned community, "informants will not hesitate to make certain private views known to a disinterested outside observer—views which would not be expressed were it thought that they would get back to management; the outsider has 'stranger' value."²

The effectiveness of this strategy was recently demonstrated to the present writer in what seemed to be an almost impossible research situation. The research question concerned what experiences and attitudes discriminated alcoholics who had successfully affiliated with Alcoholics Anonymous from those alcoholics who had been unable to affiliate with A.A.

In an effort to develop meaningful hypotheses as well as data to test them, a difficult twofold rapport problem arose. Many alcoholics who had been unable to affiliate with A.A. were available at the Mendota State Hospital in Madison, Wisconsin. This was near the University of Wisconsin campus and thus accessible to the research. Also nearby was a large A.A. clubhouse with sufficient membership to provide alcoholic subjects who had successfully affiliated with A.A. for at least a year, during which time they had attended meetings at least twice a month (the bulk attended at least once a week). Thus, there was immediately available a population of both affiliates and nonaffiliates. The problem was to become accepted by both those alcoholics who were hospitalized and those who had successfully arrested their chronic drinking through Alcoholics Anonymous.

Only after repeated failure at both the hospital and the A.A. clubhouse did the research value of being an "outsider" occur to the writer. The first rapport efforts at the hospital were aimed at including "all

¹ Florence Kluckhohn, "The Participant Observer Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44:331-43.

² Robert K. Merton, "Selected Problems of Field Work in a Planned Community," *American Sociological Review*, 12:304-12.

levels" in the research so that it would be well accepted by everyone involved. Consequently, numerous contacts were developed and maintained with front-office people in the hospital, psychiatrists, and ward personnel. At the same time, incoming alcoholics were contacted on the in-take wards and later, informally, in kitchens, sculleries, and on the grounds. These contacts produced a series of arranged interviews with a sample of alcoholics in which a high resistance to the research by the alcoholics was encountered. The gist of opposition centered around the belief that the writer was a "nut-doctor professor from the University who would find out if you were crazy or not."

At the same time that this resistance was arising, tentative efforts to develop acceptance by the A.A. group were under way. These, too, encountered high resistance, but for other reasons. Previous and recent researchers had left them with the impression that research was "useless" and "unintelligible." They did not know the outcome of the tests and interviews to which they had responded and were in no mood to be "studied" further. The experience calls to mind the statement by Mann to the effect that "human relations mistakes made by researchers with [industrial groups] live long lives. It is not uncommon to hear of accounts of poorly conducted studies years after those studies occurred—and even in some cases—after some of the persons who participated have gone to other jobs."³ This resistance was coupled with a tendency to equate any social scientist with psychiatry. Psychiatrists were widely disliked among the group and a researcher was readily identified as one. Thus the researcher was often greeted with the half-antagonistic question, Are you a psychiatrist? Together, these two attitudes served to stymie acceptance, and the formal request by the researcher for voluntary participation in the study was greeted with only sparse response by the A.A. members.

At this point the research was almost abandoned due to the resistance at both hospital and A.A. clubhouse. However, it was decided to consult the literature on the problem to determine if something might be done. Except for the writers previously mentioned, little of a systematic nature was discovered, and those who did discuss it lamented the absence of a recognition of the problem. Rogler concluded that "such a methodological problem weighs as heavily on researchers as does the creation of a carefully reasoned conceptual framework or thorough familiarity with formal quantitative methods." Merton observed that a "deep silence cloaks many of the concrete problems found in field work,"

³ Floyd C. Mann, "Human Relations Skills in Social Research," *Human Relations*, 4:341 ff.

while Sewell was of the opinion that "unfortunately there has been little discussion in the professional journals of the basic field techniques currently being used in the study of social-psychological behavior." Finally, Mann insisted that "the experiences of field-workers have not been systematically reported and as a result, a whole area of methodological skills—the human relations skills which go with the social researchers' role—has remained relatively uncoded."

The suggestions in the literature to make use of the outsider role appealed to the writer because of the obvious fact that he had been given such a role by the subjects and made to fill it. Furthermore, the problem of time seemed to rule out any extensive effort to become accepted by shaking off the outsider label. The effort to constructively use the label was aimed at endowing the role with a neutrality and divesting it of the threat which it seemed to contain. This was attempted in three ways: (1) by insisting that it was *they* who had the information and "expertise," not the researcher; that he was merely the outside media through which their experience and knowledge could be woven together; (2) by studying, as closely as possible, the communication system among both hospitalized, nonaffiliated alcoholics, and active A.A. members. A knowledge of this system would afford an opportunity to disseminate the neutrality of the outsider role. (3) Overt behavior consistent with "outsideness," i.e., by declaring emphatically that the researcher was *not* a part of treatment staff of the hospital and by staying away from all contacts with treatment personnel.

Upon executing this "about-face" there appeared to be a decided change in the degree of response to the outsider role at both the hospital and A.A. clubhouse. The first step in attempting to put it into effect was an assessment of how definitions of situations were transmitted among alcoholics. Basic to this consideration was the in-group nature of the relationship between alcoholics in both situations. At the hospital they separated themselves out from the "mentals" and were exceptionally sensitive about their nonpsychotic rating. A close solidarity developed on the basis of this commonality, facilitating the rapid exchange of any "definition of situation." Numerous informal discussions with these hospitalized alcoholics indicated further that a highly favorable or highly unfavorable definition of a situation was transmitted among them, rarely a tempered assessment; they formulated a "black or white" reaction and rapidly spread it. Further, there appeared to be some persons in both situations who had a wide variety of contacts and performed the liaison function for the "black or white" assessments. Their wide

contacts and outgoing personality traits made for rapid transmission within a tight-knit group. Finally, there was an overlap between the communication system of the hospitalized alcoholics and the active A.A. members. There were a few liaison persons who were active in both. After locating these persons it was possible to instill in the communication system the neutral "outsider" definition of the researcher. By emphasizing with these liaison persons the simple, unvarnished research fact that they were the source of data about alcoholism and affiliation with A.A., that it was they who had experienced it and it was they from whom the researcher had to gain his knowledge, it was possible to give the outsider role a synthesizing definition.

Simultaneously, a studied effort was made to avoid all contacts with the treatment staff of the hospital. It was assumed that much of the resistance in both quarters arose from the identification of the researcher with this staff. These persons were the target for the projected hostility of most alcoholics. At the A.A. group they often served the same scapegoat function. Consequently, the outsider role of the researcher was retained by avoiding, scrupulously, any unnecessary association with the hospital staff. In this manner, the researcher remained an outsider, but a neutral one who was dependent upon the alcoholics for information about a meaningful subject, i.e., A.A. "Inside" implications were avoided, since there were no observations of contacts with "inside" persons except those who had the data.

The degree of acceptance apparently rose rapidly following the inauguration of these measures, since volunteers for exploratory interviews came forward in both hospital and A.A. club. Conceivably this might have happened without such efforts, but the speed of the acceptance after they were made and the high resistance before such rapport efforts were made lead to the conclusion that the rapport effort described had some appreciable effect.

These experiences led to an appraisal of the outsider role as a general technique to be considered as a possible approach in any field research situation. Certain advantages and disadvantages of the technique are suggested by the experiences narrated above. First, it seems probable that such a role for the researcher reduces the amount of time necessary to develop acceptance. To abandon the outsider role means that the researcher must attempt to develop "inside" roles that are understandable to the various levels of an organization. This requires more time and effort, since the researcher must seek out, by trial and error means, a role that is compatible with the situation. Furthermore, as is well

known, any formal organization is honeycombed with face-to-face informal groups and congeniality groupings. "Outsideness" is an advantage, since the researcher can maintain a neutrality relative to these groupings. If, on the other hand, he attempts to abandon his outside role, he unwittingly becomes identified with one of the clique formations and finds it quite difficult to maintain his acceptance with various levels. Second, this "outsideness" seems to stimulate more uninhibited response from data-bearers, since the "inside" threat of transmittal to others in the organization is less with an outsider. However, this advantage places an extraordinary burden on the researcher to maintain strict confidence regarding all information imparted. Intense attention to this point is required, since confidants will be prone to test the degree of confidence actually held by the researcher.

Third, the deliberate acceptance of the outsider role operates to reduce the development of too much rapport. As Miller⁴ has pointed out, field researchers often develop more rapport than is necessary. As a consequence, the acceptance grows to the point that it hinders the study. He reports that he had developed such a close relationship with union leaders that "some penetrating lines of inquiry had to be dropped. . . . To continue close rapport and to pursue avenues of investigation which appeared antagonistic to the union leaders was impossible." It would seem that the outsider role would tend to reduce this tendency. Even though acceptance of the researcher in this outside role does develop, he is still an outsider, leaving him freer to design his question in whatever direction he desires than if he attempted to minimize his "outsideness."

Finally, the utilization of the "outsider" role allows for a maintenance of objectivity that would become weakened if roles other than this one were attempted. It is a maxim of rapport development that the researcher make certain he is not allowing himself to be labeled as a representative of any group or interest, i.e., that he remain impersonal. It seems that when the outsider role is given a neutral flavor, it can be a most effective vehicle for securing this objectivity. It is difficult for the researcher to become emotionally involved in the viewpoint of any particular group if he continues to view himself as someone apart from the organization in which his research is taking place.

Despite these possible advantages, specific difficulties arise in the use of the role. Many researchers are overconcerned with their acceptance and find it difficult to remain an outsider. There is a mild compulsion

⁴ S. M. Miller, "The Participant Observer," *American Sociological Review*, 17:97-99.

to "be accepted," to feel secure in the data-gathering process. Consequently, it is hard for the researcher to think of remaining "outside." Especially is this the case if the researcher has been relatively unaware of the acceptance problem, only to be rudely awakened by intense resistance to him. The researcher with this experience is more apt to be oversensitive about acceptance and find it difficult to think of remaining an outsider during the research. If we add to this the fact that initially the outsider role will be interpreted by subjects as a possible threat of some kind, a compound disadvantage arises. It appears necessary to divest the role of this threat definition, at the same time replacing it with a neutrality definition. It is probable that this cannot always be done, and, even if it is accomplished, the researcher will not be aware of whether or not he has made the alteration. In short, the threat of an outsider may remain as the definition of the researcher's role, leaving him as stymied as before.

Further, if the outsider role limits the degree of acceptance, as has been observed, the researcher cannot define hypotheses in as sharp a manner as he could if he developed a more intense acceptance. He cannot allow the hypotheses concerning a question to grow from his knowledge of a field situation, since his outside role, regardless of how well developed it may be, hampers him in getting an intimate contact with the phenomenon involved. This may also lead to a suppression of vital data on the part of informants; they may partially respond but hold back attitudes, etc., that might be identified by the researcher if he were not in the outsider role.

Despite the various pros and cons in the situation, it seems possible to conclude that the use of the outsider role as a means of developing acceptance in the research situation is a technique to be considered by the field researcher. He will probably discover that the role is given him by the data-bearers and that it is more effective to turn this role assignment to his advantage than to try to remove it from his research activities.

COMMUNITY AND RACIAL FACTORS IN INTELLECTUAL ROLES*

WILSON RECORD
Sacramento State College

The general literature concerning American intellectuals has emphasized two characteristics. The first is alienation from the dominant business order, that "stupid, gigantic fraud," to use a phrase from Edmund Wilson.¹ The second, closely related to the first, is the sharp divergence of intellectuals in American society from their European counterparts. These two emphases have caused intellectuals in this country to be viewed as a more or less homogeneous group and have given rise to some rather glib generalizations concerning their behavior.

The fact that relatively few sociologists in the past have concerned themselves with intellectuals per se as a subgrouping in the larger American milieu is in part responsible for a number of simplifications going unchallenged. Only during the past two decades have sociologists in this country shown much concern for the study of intellectual life, with the relationships between social structure and social thought.² The adaptation of quantitative methods to an exploration of this vast domain has proceeded very slowly, due in part no doubt to difficulties in conceptualizing intellectual types and defining their respective roles. This is not to minimize for a moment the insightful and rewarding understandings which have resulted from other approaches, primarily literary and historical.

*Paper read before American Sociological Society Meeting, September 1, 1955, Washington, D.C.

¹ For examples of these emphases at different historical periods see Alexis DeTocqueville, *Democracy in America* (revised Reeve translation) (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), Vol. 1, pp. 255-59. Henry Adams, *Letters* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1930), Vol. 1, *passim*. Edmund Wilson, *The Shores of Light* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Young, 1952), pp. 498-99. For many-sided contemporary comment on the role of intellectuals in postwar European countries and on need for the American intellectuals' re-examination of the alienation theme see *America and the Intellectuals, Partisan Review Series* #4 (New York, 1953). Note especially the comments of the editors and the essay by Lionel Trilling.

² For example, the development of industrial sociology is providing us with studies of intellectuals in various occupational situations and of the impact of bureaucracy on intellectual life. See Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

Emerging political sociology is likely to shed much new light on the relationship of intellectuals to power structures and processes, as indeed has been done already in the study of the dynamic components of revolutionary movements.

The fact is that *intellectualus americanus* is a quite diverse species, and the more sociologists examine its components, the more striking are the differences.³ One of the more significant examples of intraspecies variation is the Negro intellectuals. It is with reference to the darker-skinned men of ideas that many of the earlier, easier generalizations have broken down. A major difference between Negro and white intellectuals in American society is found in the sphere of social action. The white intellectual is animated by a grievance that is vague, fluctuating, and general, having to do with his rejection qua intellectual by a materialist culture in which he lacks both high status and effective power. The Negro intellectual qua intellectual, of course, shares this general dilemma; but, as a Negro, he has an immediate and overriding grievance of a specific, constant, and limited nature, having to do with his rejection by a social order whose best rewards are unavailable to those lacking appropriate skin color. The influence which this distinction has had upon the relative involvement of Negro and white intellectuals in social movements has been explored previously by the writer.

The present paper focuses on the disparate pressures brought to bear upon the Negro intellectual by the Negro community on the one hand, and upon the white intellectual in the white community on the other, regarding participation in social action programs. The prevailing opinion in the larger community virtually encourages the withdrawal of the intellectual from the political and industrial arena; at best, it demands that he abandon the intellectuals' functions as a condition of entry. There are appropriate epithets with which the white community characterizes the individual who insists on the independent role of ideas in human action. "Egghead," "dogooder," "bleeding heart," "reformer," and the like—all are terms reflecting the hostile attitudes of the majority toward the intellectuals.

In sharp contrast, the Negro community insists that the Negro intellectual get into its particular fray and stay there. It is prepared to reward him if he does and to punish him if he refuses. If the white intellectual is not always free to choose which social action organizations he will join, he is at least able to choose those he will not join. Even the latter liberty is unavailable to the Negro intellectual for all practical purposes. For the colored community views the artist, the teacher, the

³ Defining "intellectuals" satisfactorily presents certain problems. Here we will use Merton's general formulation. We shall consider persons as intellectuals . . . "insofar as they devote themselves to cultivating and formulating knowledge. They have access to and advance a cultural fund of knowledge which does not derive solely from their direct cultural experience," *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949), pp. 162-63.

writer, the lawyer, and the journalist not only as a symbol of racial achievement, and hence a source of race pride, but also as an instrument for recasting the racial balance in a more favorable way. For this reason, the concern of the Negro intellectual for racial welfare, as evidenced in his involvement in Negro movements, is the result of high community pressure as well as a personal psychology. Furthermore, this involvement is shaped and sustained by the continuing demand that he, as an advantaged individual among a disadvantaged minority, utilize his considerable talents for the advancement of group interests.

This central hypothesis was supported by the results of some fifty interviews with Negro intellectuals on the West Coast during the past three years. Although the data in numerous instances cannot be reduced to quantitative preciseness, they do suggest the tentative acceptability of certain conclusions, while at the same time they illuminate new areas of inquiry. The respondents included 46 men and 7 women. The primary occupational distribution was as follows: doctors 5, lawyers 7, journalists 3, social workers 6, teachers 8, labor leaders 2, skilled workers 3, clerical workers (civil service) 4, graduate students 5, writers 2, college professors 3, miscellaneous 5. The interviews were conducted on a quasi-informal basis. However, identical questions were asked in each instance with the order varying, depending on the circumstances. In addition, a number of open-ended questions were introduced during the latter stages of the interview. In some cases follow-up information was obtained through correspondence, and was subsequently checked against and incorporated in the original interview material. The interviews lasted at least an hour. In some cases where the respondent was already known to the writer repeat interviews were conducted.

On the basis of the responses obtained it may be said that Negro intellectuals are clearly aware of themselves as an educational, social, and occupational elite in the Negro world. In referring to characteristics which "most distinguish you from other Negroes in the community," there was marked agreement among the respondents. Education was ranked first, with income, occupation, and "leadership" following in close order. Comments by some of the interviewees are revealing in this connection. A professional man with a graduate degree said:

Not every Negro boy finishes high school and a lot fewer go to college. Any Negro around here who has a college degree is still pretty rare. This will change in the future, but it will be a long time. Having a good educational background carries a lot of weight with the uneducated as well as the educated.

Other respondents in emphasizing education as a distinguishing characteristic pointed to the prestige which the Negro teacher had in the community. This was interpreted as resting on the high regard which the low-educated members of the community had for those whose personal achievement and professional standing served as symbols and as means of racial betterment.

Income and occupation were usually mentioned together. All respondents, with few exceptions, regarded their jobs as "better" than the average of other members of the Negro community. The reasons were as follows: high income, usually flexible hours, "clean" work, congenial associates, high prestige, and long-term financial security. A prominent attorney pointed out:

As you know, Negroes are still doing mostly the "hot, heavy and dirty work" which for a long time was about the only thing open to them. But now quite a number are moving up, a little here, a little there. It will be a long time until a Negro has an equal shot at some of the really top jobs. Even a routine clerk's job is still pretty highly regarded by most Negroes around here. One reason why I picked law was because it was high on the list.

Respondents were unusually frank in stating that they regarded themselves as leaders in the Negro community. It was noted by some that businessmen might have more power and more income in some instances, but there was near-unanimous belief that the "real" leadership was in the hands of the "better educated" people. This was explained by a doctor in these terms:

Ordinarily you wouldn't expect people to come to a doctor unless they were ill. But with Negroes it is different a lot of the time. They come to see you about a lot of other things too. People around here figure you must know a lot or else you wouldn't be where you are. Just about every day somebody wants me to talk to a PTA or give a speech on fair employment, or discuss Africa or intervene with the police.

A college professor from an eastern university who was doing a sociological study in an East Bay community pointed out:

You have a hard time *not* being a leader. In doing my study I had to establish rapport with a lot of leaders in local organizations. I hadn't been around but a short time when I found that, although I had clearly identified myself as an observer only, I was being placed on committees, asked to make speeches, contribute to fund drives and help in organizational work. When I tried to back away the pressure became terrific; I changed from just an observer to a participant-observer with emphasis on participant.

If Negro intellectuals are cognizant of the advantaged character of their positions in the Negro community as indicated above, they are also aware of marked disadvantages and vulnerabilities as they face the white community. This was indicated in a series of answers to questions concerning interactions with members of the majority group.

The Negro's preoccupation with race issues and his discontent with the white-dominated society are reflected in the responses of the fifty-three intellectuals. In ranking "problems which concern you most" various forms of prejudice against Negroes and particularly against upper-strata Negroes were high on the list. The importance of such problems as employment, education, and housing for the respondents was reflected also in the data on the kind and volume of protest and welfare activities in which they engaged during the preceding year. While there was some tendency among respondents to visualize these problems in terms of those immediately confronting the small upper-strata group, there was a pronounced awareness of an obligation of the intellectuals to help their disadvantaged fellow-Negroes.

The Negro intellectuals find that, although they might prefer to avoid involvement in various forms of social action in the Negro community, it is difficult to do so. A Negro teacher remarked just before leaving for an NAACP meeting:

I don't mind this meeting, but there are a lot of them that I don't care for at all, and yet I feel I ought to go. People are always asking me to join this or that and it's always because it will "help the race." I get calls at all hours after school and into the evening. I have even thought about having the telephone taken out, and then maybe I wouldn't be disturbed so much. But if I did something like that, there would be a lot of resentment. Sometimes you are a race leader because you are pushed into being a race leader.

The pressures which the Negro community exerts upon its men of ideas to take up the cudgels for social action programs relate not to reform movements in general, but to the specific battles against racial discrimination.⁴ As a matter of fact, the intellectual who concerns himself with general domestic issues, apart from their specific racial dimension, may be viewed as neglecting the race in exchange for more favorable prominence in the white world. Again, he runs the risk of being talked about, of being criticized publicly, and of failing to honor the debt owed the Negro community, whose members feel that somehow the intellectual has risen to his present status in part as a consequence of their suffering and sacrifice.

⁴ Abram L. Harris, "A White and Black World of American Labor and Politics," *Social Forces*, Vol. 4, No. 2, December 1925, pp. 381-82.

The white intellectual's discontent grows out of the fact that there is no rewarding position for him qua intellectual in a business-oriented order. However, he is free to participate or not in social movements aimed at changing some aspect or all aspects of that order. The Negro intellectual's discontent is a product of his rejection by a white-dominated order. He lacks the freedom of movement against the more general forces that shape the larger social structure.

The constancy of the character of the Negro intellectual's rejection by a white-dominated society and the similarity of his experience to that of his fellow Negroes combine to create a personal psychology and a public pressure that guarantee his continuing involvement in efforts to redress the racial balance.

PUBLIC IGNORANCE ABOUT CORRECTIONAL WORK

J. ROY LEEVY
Purdue University

The topic of correctional work in our state and federal institutions is unknown to most people today in spite of the fact that such institutions have been doing a good job in trying to aid the person who has been so unfortunate as to have committed a crime and who has been convicted and sentenced by our courts to a correctional institution.

There are probably several reasons why the public is ignorant about correctional work. Let us analyze some of these reasons and see why the public remains for the most part in a maze of ignorance.

The writer, a professor of criminology and penology, has observed the following reasons why the public is ignorant about correctional work. Much of the public looks upon a criminal with fear and trembling, as a monster who should be avoided. Hence, when the court finds a person guilty of an offense, many people do not think of aiding or helping him, but they desire to see such a person taken out of the community that produced him and locked securely behind some door or wall. Such an attitude toward a criminal is due to fear on the part of the non-criminal. Man often attempts to justify his ignorance by remaining ignorant of facts, and it sometimes gives him a self-satisfying feeling not to search for facts about why people commit crimes. It is easier to shudder when a prison is mentioned as a community where men are given a chance to rectify some of their mistakes.

The writer frequently asks clergy, businessmen, legislators, yes, taxpayers, whether or not they have ever visited a correctional institution or whether they would like to accompany him and some of his students on a field trip to such institutions. The answers run something like this: "Who, me go to prison?" or "Oh! no, prisons depress me," or "Do you think I am a criminal?" To these people a correctional institution is a "horrible" place, a place where "horrible" people are kept. Such people do not bother to ascertain for themselves what is actually being done today in our modern correctional institution. For a great many people, it is much easier to go to a fictional movie about correctional institutions than to visit a correctional institution under the leadership of a trained correctional superintendent and his staff, see the physical facilities that such institutions have, chat with correctional personnel, and obtain firsthand information about correctional work.

Public Relations. With a group of senior and graduate students of a class in criminology and penology, the writer recently conducted a field trip to a state reformatory. It proved to be one of the most interesting and useful trips for removing ignorance of the public about correctional work in the ten years that he has been conducting such field trips.

One reason why this trip was so interesting is that the superintendent, the deputy superintendent, the education director, and many of the personnel of this fine state reformatory have such splendid philosophies of life and all the leading personnel mentioned in this institution are masters of wholesome public relations. Then, too, the above-mentioned executive personnel have nothing to "hide" when visitors come to this institution.

The students on this trip felt the atmosphere of good public relations the moment they arrived because the education director met the writer and his students, greeted them, and made the students acquainted with the classification board. The board members leisurely chatted with the visiting group in the board room and then began a systematized tour of the institution. There was none of the old "standing around" by the conductors of the tour of the institution and saying, "Well, what do you want to see?" as used to be the case when students and the writer arrived for a tour of a correctional institution.

At least 10 of the 15 students that visited this state reformatory with the writer have made interesting 50-minute talks about their field trip. One item of interest that impressed them was the high morale of the prison staff and the inmates themselves. There was never a time during this field trip when these students thought they were on a sightseeing trip. To the students it was an educational experience in penology, not to be found in books, but one to be found in penological institutions themselves. The students felt free to ask questions concerning the different phases of the correctional program and directed many questions to the supervisors of the several industries of the institution.

One way probably to relieve much of the ignorance of the public about correctional work would be to do as the above administrator does when any "public"—students, businessmen, or whoever it may be—come to visit his institution, that is, to be "human" and have a fine public relations program. Nothing seems to stifle the public into more solid ignorance—regardless of whether it be a college, a university, or a correctional institution—than a "cold and indifferent" public relations program.

Another reason why some people like to remain ignorant about correctional work in these institutions is their belief that "once a criminal always a criminal." Some people still cling to heredity as the cause for all mankind's ills and misbehaviors.

Another segment of our public does not understand that from 80 to 85 per cent of the population of correctional institutions are released by parole. In fact, the average man on the street does not know the meaning of parole. This may be due in part to the different types of parole systems in use today in some of our institutions and states. The only portion of the public in some communities that knows about a parole system is the police, and they are the "watch dogs," according to some people, of a parolee.

In some states the public has not cooperated with parole officers. We have given parole officers excessive loads of supervision, paid them poorly, and blamed them for the violations of parolees. We need more adult education relative to parole than we now have in many of our cities and states.

In closing, the writer wishes to summarize what he thinks may help to remove at least some of the ignorance about correctional work by the public as follows:

All correctional institutions should endeavor to continue a good public relations program. (1) Encourage visitation by lay groups to these institutions. (2) Have nothing to hide. The prison population is composed to an extent of people who have made mistakes due to ill health, lack of a purpose in life, etc. (3) Distribute pamphlets and newspapers that are printed in the correctional institutions to libraries, public and private, when they are asked for by librarians or the lay public. (4) Create and develop instructive films showing the program of correctional work—yes, the educational program, the academic, vocational, and the recreational programs. (5) Be ready to cooperate with institutions such as colleges and universities on TV programs which will be instructive, and not sensational, about correctional work. (6) Permit the prison personnel to travel to different correctional institutions which are trying new and different kinds of vocational work. (7) Permit prison personnel to attend workshops and conferences where lay people are participating as well as college and university personnel. (8) Continue to encourage research on the part of interested college students and aid in its interpretation to the lay public. Last but not least, let us all aid in parole education on the part of the public.

These suggestions are not presented as dos or don'ts, but just as bits of the writer's experience and observations with the personnel of many excellent correctional institutions. We need to remember, no doubt, that man is not perfect, and hence he will need aid in correcting his mistakes always.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

DONALD S. DUSHKIND

Brooklyn College

The research of a sociologist, just as that of physical scientists, is affected by his physical and personality traits, the attitudes of the culture within which he lives, and the facilities and limitations imposed by the society within which he lives on one in his status-role position at a particular time. Each of these factors can not, and need not, be uniform, since a research project is the resultant of certain forces in an equilibrating system. Although the workers in the physical sciences are subject to the same conditions, their situation is not as obvious because of the easier demand and acceptance for work that is of apparent importance and unthreatening to the personalities, cultures, and/or societies involved.

Different subject matter and different facilities require different types of research. The culture must have some measure of acceptance for the particular types of research, and the society must provide the facilities that the particular personality and culture need for the work. This is exemplified in the fact that the methods and subject matter of sociology vary markedly from country to country. Furthermore, within the United States, they vary from region to region; within the same region, they vary from university to university; and within the same university, they vary from professor to professor.

The sociologist, because of the nature of his subject matter, is extremely limited in the types of research techniques he may use. He cannot choose subjects as easily as scientists who can use freely inanimate or subhuman subjects. His physical limitations as a human being prohibit him from observing or experimenting with certain data.¹ For example, he cannot live an adequate number of generations to completely observe certain sociological processes in international relations. He may be able to take part in the manipulation of international relations if he is that politically astute, but this requires a great deal of skill and luck. Because of cultural and societal opposition, he cannot take an infant and develop him into a delinquent for experimental purposes. He

¹ Nevertheless, some persons identified with sociology fallaciously use only that portion of the data that is observable or manipulatable to formulate theories with regard to the total data.

can take himself as an example of the subject matter he is studying. Although projection can be a danger in such a use, empathy is often a helpful technique in formulating ideas about the actions of others. He cannot study the sociological processes accompanying the development of a new means of transportation until that new means of transportation is invented and available. In view of these facts, the following may be considered as the techniques to which a sociologist is restricted in his research.² They either do not come into conflict with physical laws, technological goals, and/or common ethical concepts or meet with only small opposition on ethical grounds:

1. Historical techniques:
 - a. Observation of self or others as variables are naturally manipulated.
 - b. Analysis of unexplained, or religiously or magically rationalized, historical residues and their correlates.
 - c. Reviewing of observations and analyses of others.
 - d. Reviewing of experiments.
2. Comparative techniques:
 - a. Observation of actions of individuals or groups possessing pertinent similarities and differences.
 - b. Analysis of comparative data collated by observers, which may be unexplained or rationalized religiously or magically.
 - c. Comparing observations and analyses of different observers of same phenomena.
3. Experimental techniques:
 - a. Observation of self and/or others as observer manipulates variables during process of technology.
 - b. Observation of self and/or others as observer manipulates harmlessly, or for payment, variables in laboratory.
 - c. Experimentation with low-status persons (e.g., prisoners).

Sometimes more difficult for acceptance by the scientist or others than the techniques of research used are the conclusions. The scientist's emotional make-up may be such that a validly derived conclusion that has been empirically verified by the most rigid tests may be unacceptable to him. A normally objective scientist may unconsciously distort his observations and the rational processes used to formulate the conclusion in order to discard it or modify it. This may occur when a scientist

² Because of the experiential and conceptual limitations of the writer, the sociocultural contexts referred to from this point on must be considered as essentially American.

whose ego has been bolstered by having made himself famous as the owner of a particular theory or by having followed a premise for most of his life feels his ego threatened by disproof of the premise.

What may be substituted for rigid adherence to scientific method in such situations is an arbitrary authoritarian approach. That is, the scientist holding the greatest power prohibits the contradictory evidence or theory, with some type of rationalization, from being advocated within his hearing or sight. The rationalizations may be distortions of either the contrary evidence or the theory or the method used to formulate the theory. The rationalizations may appear to be denials of the integrity of the presenter of new evidence or a new theory or the validity of his method. This type of situation occurs in universities where faculty members stifle student scholarliness or where senior faculty members stifle the scholarliness of junior faculty members. It occurs also in non-academic research situations. The scientist who is deviating thus from objectivity is easily supported by his societally designated authoritarian position, and he may be supported by the cultural attitudes by which his status-role position in society is closely affected. If the cultural attitudes support the person in an inferior status-role position, the person in the superior status-role position may be all the more emotionally disturbed and may attempt to be all the more suppressive of his status-role inferior. Following this a resignation may be forced from either party, in accordance with the strength of the opinions of the even higher societally designated officials at the time, which in turn is affected by the higher officials' degree of dependence upon the current proximal cultural attitudes toward the conflicting ideas.

Some sociological research projects require more time and effort than others. Some sociologists can accomplish more in the same space of time than others. Some cultures and societies are more helpful to sociologists than others. Some projects need more than one scientist, while others need only one. Some sociologists can use equally cumbersome material with greater scientific value than others. A common fallacy in criticizing sociological research is taking the research out of context. There are many different kinds of questions asked in sociology that are on different levels of abstraction in the range from special to middle to general range theory. A research project on the level of special range theory may be criticized from the level of general range theory, and vice versa. Similarly with middle range theory. Similar situations exist with projects whose goal is plausible definition or hypothesizing rather than definitive conclusion or theorization. Such criticisms appear to come often from personalities that require their conceptions of science to fit into the limited

types of research of which they are capable. One whose ego can accept recognition of one's own limitations despite the ability of others in other areas, or who can integrate his own limited work with those of others, is not so likely to criticize with the same fallacy such sociological research. Similar situations exist with regard to cultures and societies. For example, in American sociocultural situations, where immediate profit is demanded and least threatening, special range sociological theory is most acceptable.

Sometimes the most rewarded work is actually the least scientific, for many people pay for what they want to hear rather than scientific conclusions. Of course, the converse is true also. This is exemplified most clearly in the far greater popularity of the proclamations of politicians than the theories of social scientists. Although in the Franklin D. Roosevelt presidential era social scientists were made use of in the formulation of national policies in certain areas, such persons were referred to derogatorily as "the brain trust." The end of the Roosevelt era has been accompanied by a decrease in the use of social scientists in American governmental actions. Even when usable, unless the scientist is also a skilled politician, he is generally relegated to a small niche from which his sociological findings can be accepted without presentation to the public or can be reworded or distorted enough for public acceptance. If the findings threaten the egos of the politicians for whom he works, he may lose his job. Even if he is protected by legally supported tenure rights, the functionaries within the specific societal structures governing his job can make it unpleasant enough for him to force a resignation, or they can invoke some legal rationalization to enact a dismissal.

Sociologists are frequently confused as to how to achieve best the goals of their research. Those sociologists who do not have a technological goal for their research can logically be concerned only with purely personal goals, e.g., the satisfaction of a completed piece of research or an additional publication that may lead to an immediate financial profit or to an academic promotion. Those who work for industrial organizations are the most likely to be required to have their research presented in a form that can most easily be transformed into social technology.

INTEGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTES

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

The concept of integration is well illustrated by the activities of the social agency in the United States known as International Institutes. Nowhere else could one find a better laboratory for studying integration as a social process, particularly in the field of immigrant and nationality relationships, than in the daily functioning of the International Institutes.

The earliest international institute program was organized in 1910 as a part of the work of the Young Women's Christian Association. This development spread among the Y.W.C.A.'s following World War II. Its activities included not only the needs of immigrant girls and women but also the needs of whole families. The needs also came to include the orientation of families in the community. A need for a nonsectarian basis also developed.

In the late twenties the need for acquiring autonomy and for coordinating the various programs for immigrants grew apace. Sometimes this work was organized under such titles as International Centers, Immigrants' Protective Leagues, and so on. Although the initial groundwork was laid within the programs of the Y.W.C.A.'s, the urge for autonomy resulted in a separation from the parent organization in the thirties.

In 1934 the need for a coordination of the various Institutes and immigrant protective programs resulted in the organization of the American Federation of Institutes.¹ By 1956 the membership in the Federation consisted of Institutes and affiliates in 45 different cities in the United States.² The main financial support comes from community chests, for the Institutes have become independent chest agencies.

The history of the International Institute as a social institution is interesting because it is the child of another institution, the Y.W.C.A. As the child grew up, it developed aims not provided for within the constitution of its parent. It also acquired a strength of its own, and so it asked to be given its independence. This way of coming into autonomous being by a social institution is not uncommon, and may be called

¹ Referred to hereafter in this paper as the A.F.I.I.

² Somewhat similar work is being carried on in Canada and Australia.

the lateral offshoot method. When one function of a social institution develops programs that grow "in size and scope beyond the normal purview" of the parent institution, that function tends to call forth a social organization of its own.³

Now comes the question, How does the International Institute as a social institution illustrate the process of integration? It furthers integration by its staff of trained social workers in one major field, that of helping immigrants to develop a sense of belonging in a new nationality environment. But how? Through its threefold program involving casework, group work, and general community identification.

1. The casework activities will be noted first. (a) The Institute workers act as language interpreters and advisers. They help new arrivals to get in touch with classes in English in the public schools. In our country, if a person with a problem cannot speak English he has two problems, that of making his problem known and that of getting it solved. If he cannot communicate his needs, he cannot get help. The Institute comes to the new arrival's sense of relief in two ways, as an interpreter and in helping him get started on the road of learning English.

(b) A newcomer to our country is at first a "foreigner," an "alien," a person without the rights of citizenship. He is an "outsider," and at once feels this handicap severely. Again at the point of emotional insecurity the Institute comes to the immigrant's rescue in two ways. In one way it helps him by interpreting the laws and regulations pertaining to him so that he can understand what he is to do as a law-respecting person. In a second way the Institute explains how he may prepare for citizenship and helps him in the process.

(c) A closely related service rendered by the Institute has developed in recent years in connection with the work of the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission. World War II brought to the fore the problems of large numbers of displaced persons and refugees, many of whom have been in the greatly insecure position of being stateless persons, that is, of having no country that they could call their own and to which they could look for protection.⁴ Again, the local Institute performs yeoman

³ Based on informal statement by William S. Bernard, executive director of the American Federation of International Institutes.

⁴ The A.F.I.I. "is certified by the U.S. Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, by the Visa Division of the State Department, and by the U.S. Department of Justice"; it also "works closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and with the new Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration" (mimeographed statement of the A.F.I.I.).

service at the point of great emotional strain, for the displaced person may feel lost and almost helpless until he is shown the way out of his confusion and seeming helplessness.

(d) A transplanted person often has great difficulty in obtaining employment. He may be able-bodied but without work and hence see his slender resources dwindling away, or he may have no resources. His distress and tension are relieved by the Institute's case worker, who points the way to his employment and thus to regaining his self-respect. Although a professionally trained immigrant may have to take a manual labor job for a time, yet he can keep a measure of self-respect until employment more in keeping with his training becomes available.

(e) The transplanted family often experiences severe upsets within the area of internal family relationships. In addition to husband-wife maladjustments, there are parent-child problems. Immigrant parents are often at their wits' end in their new environment because of children who are quick to adopt American ways that run counter to the old-world customs of the parents. Here the caseworker of the Institute comes into the picture and helps the distraught parent to understand the conflict between homeland folkways and the new American ways of doing, and thus to act more wisely as a parent.

(f) When anyone falls ill, he lacks his usual resourcefulness to meet his problems. The immigrant in a strange environment who is stricken ill is often at a loss to know what to do. In this time of helpless incapacity, the Institute's caseworker "stands by" and gives needed instruction and a sense of assurance that everything possible is being done for the family where the wage earner is unable to work, a child has suffered a near-fatal accident, the mother has become critically ill, or a member of the family becomes mentally ill and may commit an act of violence. With no resources in his home to meet such problems, the immigrant is, on the other hand, understandably fearful of resorting to a large public institution for aid—until the Institute's worker gives the necessary help and assurance.

2. Nearly all the aforementioned services are rendered by social caseworkers, but another widespread type of service is afforded by the Institute's staff of group workers. For instance, in one International Institute⁵ during 1955, a total of 106 clubs, classes, and special interests groups were conducted for immigrants and their children, and 67 different adult nationality organizations met at the Institute's headquarters with its club and classrooms, its reception and exhibit rooms,

⁵ Of Los Angeles, located at 435 South Boyle Avenue, Miss Esther D. Bartlett, executive director.

its attractive gardens and patios. Here the need for sociability is met, here children and youth have their parties, here adult newcomers meet with old-time immigrants. Here members of a given nationality group meet with fellow nationality members, with members of other nationality groups, and with native Americans—in a pleasant, friendly American atmosphere.

Through its group work activities the Institute helps the newcomers and particularly their young people to meet their leisure-time needs under constructive auspices. In cities where the enticements of commercialized amusements create problems for youth, the group activities that are afforded the second-generation young people cannot be rated too highly.

3. Another integration role of the International Institute is found in its general community identification stimuli. As stated in a folder distributed by the Los Angeles International Institute, "each new person who arrives on our shores carries in him an abundance of gifts." These vary greatly from individual to individual and include "wisdom, humor, special skills, fresh insights, enthusiasm, love—contributions that stimulate and warm the whole human community." This valuable addition to the community resources of a city is made possible to a degree by the work of social agencies such as the International Institutes. The immigrant not only receives great gifts from our country but also has important gifts to offer local communities in return. The Institute helps appreciably in furthering both processes.

The foregoing analysis presents a series of important particulars⁶ by which the International Institute furthers the process of integration in the United States. A special emphasis may well be placed here on the indirect ways that the integration process is accented. Basically, "through a respect for their customs, we can interpret ours. By remembering the value of their own native tongues we can offer friendship and acceptance."⁷ It is this sense of sympathetic understanding⁸ shown the immigrant and his family by the Institute's staff that functions strongly at the center of the integration process. "We can recognize that our new people share the same personal problems that beset us all: illness, financial reverses, family discord, death of someone close. These troubles are universal. But they can be compounded for the stranger who may be confused in his new setting, bewildered, lonely for home."⁹

⁶ The list that is given, while not complete, illustrates Institute resourcefulness.

⁷ Folder of the International Institute, Los Angeles.

⁸ Social nearness.

⁹ Folder, International Institute, Los Angeles.

The results of the International Institutes' activities run the gamut from orientation to integration. The Institutes work for "social understanding between native and foreign born and between nationality and nationality" and they create opportunities for self-development of new citizens, resident aliens, and naturalized Americans and their children.¹⁰ The motto of the A.F.I.I. is meaningful, namely, Protection, Education, Justice, and Goodwill. The ultimate goal of the work of the International Institute is integration, that is, integration in local communities and in American democracy and social justice. As one integrated immigrant said at the annual dinner of the International Institute, Los Angeles, 1956, "I belong."

Integration is a two-way process. It is a process of both giving and receiving at the same time. In fact, each aspect of the process stimulates the other aspect. The average immigrant stands ready to give of his resources on arrival. The receipt of kindness and understanding from an American source is a stimulus which releases his giving process. The more kindly understanding he receives, the more he gives of himself. The more he gives, the more he becomes integrated. In giving he adds something to American life; in receiving he changes his own views of American life. In both procedures integration takes place. In its case-work, group work, and community integration programs, the International Institute stimulates the integration process in effective ways.

¹⁰ *Social Work Year Book*, 1954 (New York: American Association of Social Workers, p. 591).

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

College of the Pacific. David K. Bruner will teach in the summer session at the University of Connecticut. Harold S. Jacoby, chairman of the department, has accepted a one-year assignment at Yamaguchi University in Japan, under the sponsorship of the Asia Foundation of San Francisco. Raymond F. Bellamy, who will retire from Florida State University, will join the department for the two-year period 1956-58. Jack R. Parsons, assistant professor of social work at the University of Washington, taught during the first summer session.

University of California, Berkeley. The Ford Foundation has made a grant of \$200,000 to the university for a five-year program of comparative research on urbanization, under the direction of Kingsley Davis. In planning this project, Dr. Davis will have the advantage of a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, where he has been appointed a Fellow for the year 1956-57. Seymour M. Lipset, who has been a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, has been appointed to the staff. Leo Lowenthal has been appointed a full professor in the university, with a joint appointment in the Department of Sociology and the Department of Speech. Hanan Selvin of Columbia University has joined the department as an assistant professor. He will offer courses in quantitative sociology. Wolfam Eberhard is on a one-year leave of absence. During the summer months of 1956, he will present a seminar at the University of Frankfurt, Germany. Beginning in the fall of 1956, Dr. Eberhard will study a series of villages in East and West Pakistan under a grant from the Asia Foundation. Reinhard Bendix has been promoted to full professor. Philip Selznick has been granted a one-year leave of absence to accept an appointment as Law and Behavioral Sciences Fellow at the University of Chicago Law School.

Oregon State College. Glenn A. Bakkum retired as head of the department on July 1, 1956, after twenty-one years of service. He will continue as professor of sociology. Hans H. Plambeck has been promoted to full professor. On September 1, 1956, he became chairman of the Department of Sociology. Robert H. Dann, after twenty-nine years of service has resigned from the department. Dr. and Mrs. Dann will leave for Honolulu in June to take charge of the American Friends Service Center.

Pomona College. Ray E. Baber, who has retired as chairman of the department, has accepted an appointment as director of the Social Science Research Institute of International Christian University in Tokyo,

Japan. He will read a paper at the annual meeting of the Japan Sociological Society in October. Harry V. Ball, who recently received his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. Charles M. Leslie, doctoral candidate at the University of Chicago, has been appointed instructor in anthropology. The Department of Sociology now becomes the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

University of California, Los Angeles. Kenneth E. Little, professor of social anthropology, University of Edinburgh, will serve as visiting professor during the fall semester. Ralph L. Beals has returned to the campus after a year's leave of absence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Joseph B. Birdsell has been granted a leave of absence to spend the fall semester at the Institute for Study of Human Variation at Columbia University. Joseph B. Birdsell and Walter R. Goldsmith have been promoted to a professorship, and Donald R. Cressey to an associate professorship.

University of Southern California. Calvin F. Schmid, professor of sociology at the University of Washington and visiting professor at U.C.L.A., gave the annual summer lecture in July sponsored by Alpha Kappa Delta of S.C. and the Southern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society, on the subject of the increase in college enrollments. *The Traveler* by E. S. Bogardus, which is being published in October by the University of Southern California Press, includes over a hundred original travel sonnets dealing with people, places, and social institutions in different parts of the world. Henry L. Mannheim, a doctoral candidate in the department, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology at New Highlands University.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

MAN, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY. Edited by Harry L. Shapiro. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xiii+380.

Sixteen leading anthropologists representing American, British, and French universities have collaborated in this anthology of essays to present a scholarly introduction to their field. The editor's contention is that, with increasing diversity of anthropological specialties, a single author is obliged to fall back upon secondary sources and the authority of the specialist is thus sacrificed. The present work attempts to combine authority with structural unity. Except for some slight overlapping, this aim has been achieved.

The caliber of the text is indicated by the list of contributors, which includes the late Ruth Benedict (edited by Margaret Mead), V. Gordon Childe, Daryll Forde, E. A. Hoebel, Harry Hoiijer, C. Lévi-Strauss, George P. Murdock, and Robert Redfield. After early chapters treating human beginnings, the Old and New Stone Ages, and the nature of culture, the volume considers the role of language, invention, and cultural change. Later chapters are devoted to the family, social groupings, religion, primitive economics, and the functional organization of society. Presumably for reasons of space, very slight attention is given to race or to cultural foundations of personality.

Graphic illustrations and diagrams add to the volume's attractiveness, both as a text and teaching adjunct. The writing throughout is non-technical. Both the beginning student and the general reader seeking to grasp the fundamentals of anthropology will find this an excellent introduction.

JOHN E. OWEN

Florida Southern College

THE DIARY OF ELISABETH KOREN: 1853-1855. By Elisabeth Koren. Edited and Translated by David T. Nelson. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1955, pp. xviii+381.

The diary of Elisabeth Koren tells an exciting story of Norwegian-American immigrant life. The reader will find a day-by-day description of the long trip across the Atlantic and of the difficulties of primitive travel across land to the frontier regions of the Mid-West. The daily life of a pastor and his wife in a small log cabin in Iowa is vividly told.

Not only is this diary interesting as a story of the disappointments and hardships of frontier existence, but it offers to the reader penetrating insights into values and attitudes held by a Norwegian immigrant of a century ago. Some of the more significant of these, which are implicit in comments and evaluations relative to social situations, indicate a faithful adherence to evangelical Lutheranism, an elevation of industry to a "calling," a neatly delimited ethnocentrism, and a sometimes harsh evaluation of things un-Scandinavian.

This work will be of interest to those who wish to approach population and immigration problems from a sociopsychological perspective. Special mention should be made of the splendid translation rendered by David T. Nelson of Luther College. The diary merits a lasting place in the literature of the Norwegian-American immigrant and of the Mid-West.

T. C. KEEDY, JR.

High Point College

AS I SEE INDIA: By Robert Trumbull. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1956, pp. 256.

The author is a *New York Times* correspondent who went to India in 1947 on a brief assignment but who continued his work there for seven and a half years. He saw India from many angles and met many able leaders. He traveled widely in this many-faceted land and observed carefully the many social forces at work. He saw, as he says, "India evolve from a nation of doubtful hopes, born in uncertainty and bloodshed, into the most stable country in Asia and a voice of strong moral power in world affairs."

Trumbull discusses the work and character of Nehru at length and finds him "peculiarly well equipped to lead the transformation of India . . . from a backward, feudal condition into the company of progressive twentieth-century states." A communist victory in India "is a most unlikely hypothesis," because, to a definite degree, of Nehru's opposition to communism.

Regarding caste the author found that "caste distinctions are gradually dying out in the cities, but in the 550,000 villages, where 90 per cent of the population lives, the patterns of a thousand years ago are not essentially changed." From the non-Hindu viewpoint "the terrible thing about caste. . . is its inexorability." However, the influence of Gandhi is still great and his philosophy brings hope, for, according to him, "every day, you see, we are all born again, we start a new life every day." This discussion of India's life and revolution merits widespread, thoughtful attention.

E.S.B.

A REPORT ON WORLD POPULATION MIGRATIONS. As Related to the United States of America. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, 1956, pp. v+449.

A great deal of valuable information and many proposals regarding immigration are brought together in this report. W. E. Schmidt and staff make twenty-three pertinent suggestions for further research in the area of economic aspects of migration. C. B. Lavell and staff outline twenty-five areas for research bearing on assimilation. R. C. Haskett and staff make several proposals that will help in making a full-scale evaluation of the history of American immigration. R. C. Haskett and staff give an Introductory Bibliography for the History of American Immigration (211 pages), and C. B. Lavell and W. E. Schmidt and staff present an Annotated Bibliography on the Demographic, Economic, and Sociological Aspects of Immigration (153 pages).

THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF A POLYANDROUS PEOPLE. By R. N. Saksena, Agra University Press, Agra, India, 1956, pp. vii+120.

Although this is a small booklet, it contains much of interest to sociologists, anthropologists, human ecologists, and economists. It deals with a number of primitive communities in the Jaunsar-Bawar Province, India, which are situated in the hilly and mountainous country in the lower Himalayas. The geographic location and isolation of these villages would be of special interest to the ecologist. They have been so completely isolated from one another that each has developed its own dialect. This isolation and the hard struggle against the natural elements of the mountainous region, the author believes, have been the main factors that have led to the development of mutual aid among the inhabitants of each village.

The materials of this book are treated under eight chapter headings: the habitat, the people, marriage and divorce, religious beliefs and superstitions, fairs and festivals, agriculture, rural industries, and trade and transport. Nineteen photographs and two plates of drawings add to the interest and clarity of the data presented.

Although the author characterizes these people as polyandrous, here, in fact, are presented forms not only of fraternal polyandry but also of group marriage and sororate. For a number of brothers may have one, two, three, or even more wives in common. Usually the wives of the brothers are sisters, but in some instances they are from different families. The status of the married woman is low, her life hard; the amount of labor she has to do is enormous, this being especially so when she is the only wife of a number of brothers. And "most tragic is the fate of a barren woman," for she is believed to be a witch and is blamed for all the calamities of the village.

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois University

MIGRATION AND MENTAL DISEASE. A Study of First Admissions to Hospitals for Mental Disease, New York, 1939-1941. By Benjamin Malzberg and Everett S. Lee. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1956, pp. x+142.

In this study it was found that the rates of first admission to hospitals for mental disease were markedly higher for migrants than for non-migrants, and that the rates of first admission for total psychoses were much higher for recent than for earlier migrants.

JUDAISM, FOSSIL OR FERMENT? By Eliezer Berkovits. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 176.

The author takes up in philosophic and religious detail Arnold Toynbee's versions of Judaism and Jewish history and Toynbee's opinions concerning Jewish survival; over against these he presents his own views and interpretations of Jewish history, Zionism, and Jewish survival. In other words, Toynbee's critical attitudes regarding Zionism and Judaism are analyzed in the light of an affirmative Jewish faith of today. Incidentally, three Jews appear in an interesting juxtaposition, each representing a distinctive oneness: namely, Jesus, the founder of Christianity; Marx, the founder of dialectical materialism, and Einstein, the founder of the relativity theory (which led to the release of atomic energy).

CONTEMPORARY AFRICA. Continent in Transition. by T. Walter Wallbank. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1956, pp. 188.

The author centers his attention on Africa south of the Sahara Desert—the real Africa, as he calls it. North Africa is different because of the Arabic influences. A number of interesting points are developed in this fresh overview of Africa, due to the author's historical perspective and his recent visit to numerous African regions.

He shows how Africa is on the march, but the people may be moving too rapidly for their own good. Being stimulated by new ideas, the various Negro peoples want to be set free from colonialism overnight, that is, before they are ready to assume the major responsibilities of democratic self-government. They are in danger of coming under the control of unscrupulous leaders either native or foreign. The result may be violence, chaos, and ruthless domination that would be worse than colonialism. Of course, their colonial rulers may be responsible in part for having kept them from learning how to develop their countries economically and to rule themselves in terms of political democracy.

The "apartheid" movement in the Union of South Africa is treated in terms of the ten or more enabling Acts that have been put into effect. The author concludes that "there would seem to be a much better chance for civilization in South Africa if all men who attain a civilized status are given the opportunity to enjoy it and enrich it," rather than have "a minority trying to defend it by sheer force against both primitive Africans and those who have taken on advanced Western habits and values."

The book includes thirty-four brief "readings," excerpts for the most part from recent political documents that have played a role in recent developments in Africa. Because this book offers a compact treatment of the people of Africa south of the Sahara, because Africans are seeking a place in the sun of political democracy, and because Africa's problems are becoming the world's problems, it may well be read carefully by Americans generally.

E.S.B.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE OF SWEDISH STUDENTS. By Franklin D. Scott. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956, pp. 126.

This monograph examines the social backgrounds of the Swedish traveling student, his purposes in coming to the United States for collegiate training, his adjustments and reactions to the American culture, and the effect of the student exchange upon readjustment to Swedish life. Swedish students chafe under the social and educational disciplines of the American university, but react with considerable favorableness to the friendly and informal contacts between persons in the United States. It is claimed that the younger student learns most about America; the older student learns most about his specialty. From the data the impression is given that the returnee tends to be more ambitious and aggressive than the stay-at-home. This study represents the first of a series of monographs to be published under the sponsorship of the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council.

E.C.M.

AT HOME IN INDIA. By Cynthia Bowles. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956, pp. viii+180.

It is more than interesting to see life in India, particularly in the villages of India, through the eyes and mind of a wide-awake and understanding American girl in her teens. As the daughter of Chester Bowles, Ambassador to India, Cynthia struck out for herself, determined to work with the village people whenever her school activities would permit. For one of her years, she achieved remarkable insight into the lives and problems of many people in India, an insight which in the pages of this book she tells about in a pleasing, matter-of-fact, and natural way.

She found that Hollywood movies in India were making the Indian youth restless. When "Indian teen-age and college-age boys and girls see American young people enjoying a close and natural companionship,"

they become "discontented with the restrictions which the caste system, the joint family and the general high moral standards of their society place upon them."

Cynthia was interested especially in Sevagram, Gandhi's village, which means a "service village." She concluded that Sevagram is "more than a village of service. It is a village of peace and of hope," and, in short, it represents "India's hope for the future, her leader in the country's great social revolution."

Cynthia draws far-reaching conclusions from her experiences in India. She hopes that the time will soon come when people may know "each other on the basis of accepting others for what each is." She thinks that there is "too much food, too much rest, and too much display of wealth" in the world. She felt uncomfortable about having servants and being viewed as superior. It was not easy for her to enjoy the heaven of Santiniketan while "blissfully ignoring the many around us who could not share it with us." She found that the people of India and of the United States are different, but that the differences even in culture, even in standards of right and wrong are not insurmountable, for beneath "are there not certain universal values and emotions that are common to us all?" From understanding will come friendship, and "our great hope is that from friendship will come peace." These are sage observations regarding world affairs from a girl in her teens.

E.S.B.

THE PITIFUL AND THE PROUD. By Carl T. Rowan. New York: Random House, Inc., 1956, pp. x+434.

In this remarkably fine piece of reporting, the author of *South of Freedom* gives a full report of his observations in India and southeast Asia while on a mission that was made at the request of the U.S. State Department. He maintained a heavy schedule of lecturing to students and to journalists, and at the same time he interviewed many significant persons.

In India he found "an anti-American mood that seemed to hang over the entire country." McCarthyism in the United States makes many people in India fear that we "are going fascist," even as we fear that they "are going communist." The United States is widely associated with capitalism, which to many Indians is viewed as an economic imperialism that may be as bad as political imperialism. In other words, the "United States and all her charity" are viewed as "the Trojan horse of a new kind of imperialism." A strong communist movement finds expressions in the colleges of India. Whatever Nehru's shortcomings may be, many in India believe that it is he who "holds India together."

The author found that military aid to Pakistan (viewed in India as her enemy) has turned many Indian leaders against the United States. In Pakistan the United States faces "another of those horrible Asian dilemmas." For her to side with the *status quo* lays her open to the charge that she sides "with tyrants and enemies of the people," but for her to try to promote democracy would subject her to the charge that "she is meddling in domestic affairs of Asians."

After his visit to Burma, Mr. Rowan concluded that "if democracy survives in Asia—and this is not certain—it will not be a democracy cast from a United States mold." After a visit to Thailand, the author observes that the communists are "shrewder than most Americans realize, more willing to sacrifice for their cause than are the campaigners for democracy." Indonesians having rid themselves of political imperialism are wary of "economic imperialism." In Hong Kong the author noted that while "Britons, Americans, Indians, and others who have come to love liberty stand bickering and haggling with each other," "dedicated communists move swiftly to cut all our throats."

Anticolonialism, antieconomic imperialism, and antiracialism are the ideologies dominant in Asia today that the State Department and our racialists must take account of if they want democracy to win in Asia (and in Africa too) and if they do not want to play unwittingly into the hands of the Communists. On her part, Asia needs to emphasize "development and dignity." "If arrogance continues to rule the proud and deceive the pitiful (due to poverty, disease, illiteracy), then tyranny and despotism will gain the upper hand in a "free Asia."

E.S.B.

CUSTOM AND CONFLICT IN AFRICA. By Max Gluckman. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 173.

In these six radio lectures given on the Third Program of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the author develops the theme of "how men quarrel in terms of certain of their customary allegiances, but are restrained from violence through other conflicting allegiances which are also enjoined on them by custom." The author was born in Africa and draws for illustrations on "old Africa." His theme is further illustrated in the last chapter on "The Bonds in the Colour-Bar."

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENT. By J. L. and Alma L. Hirning. New York: American Book Company, 1956, pp. 456.

The Hirnings have written a book on marriage education that could serve as either a text or a trade book. The style is most readable and the book is especially recommended to lower division or junior college classes. The range of topics is wide: an analysis of marriage today, backgrounds of personality, sex differences and adjustment, aspects of mate selection, dating, courtship, and engagement. There is a great deal of material on the adjustment process in marriage as well as the problem of reproduction. Excellent case studies are presented; problems of marriage, including premarital and postmarital sex questions, are discussed realistically and honestly. As study aids, there are questions and bibliographies at the end of each chapter and a glossary at the end of the book.

Compared with the average text in this field, insufficient attention is directed to certain areas, namely, finances, recreation, and religion. To some readers this may be an advantage; perhaps an author should confine himself to the core of interaction in marriage rather than become involved in daily, practical events. Another more serious defect is the occasionally pedestrian explanation and lack of documentation on some points. For example, the presentation of the psychopath seems somewhat dated, if not irrelevant.

Despite these inadequacies, the book is among the most satisfactory in the field of marriage preparation. Both for college students and for the lay public, the reading of this book should contribute to greater understanding of the problems of marriage.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

COOPERATIVE DAIRY ASSOCIATIONS IN WASHINGTON. By Laszlo Valko. Pullman, Washington: State College of Washington, 1956, pp. 15.

This document contains a carefully prepared discussion of "the organization and management policies, and the financial condition of nineteen cooperative dairy associations" which participated in a recent state-wide survey. Although the facts are presented without conclusions, they show "how the diarmen in Washington have organized, managed, and financed their cooperative association." The document is a reliable addition to current literature on agricultural cooperatives in the United States.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE FIELD OF MENTAL HEALTH. By John A. Clausen. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956, pp. 62.

This pamphlet, which was prepared for the American Sociological Society, appraises what sociologists have done in the field of mental health and indicates the opportunities presented in this field both from the standpoint of research and of "professional occupational potentialities." The research needs are many; for example, they relate to the study of the social and cultural factors in the etiology of mental illness, of the social class differences in mental illness patients, of the matrix of social relationships of which a patient in a mental hospital is a part, of the social correlates in the patient's family situation. An important section of this useful document presents the role of "the sociologist as participant in mental health programs."

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Wendell King. New York, Random House, 1956, pp. x+127.

This is number thirteen in the excellent series of Short Studies in Sociology begun by Doubleday and now taken over by Random House, but still under the fine editorial supervision of Charles H. Page. Like all the series, it represents in general the social action school of sociology. It follows the recent trend toward dealing with data from a single country with no attempt at global generalizations, thus avoiding conflict with current anthropological understanding of cultural relativism.

The definition of "social movement" is clumsy and not very helpful for scientific purposes. To call a social movement "a group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behavior, and social relations" confuses definition with description. A simpler definition such as "an organized attempt to engineer sociocultural change" might be more useful in description, classification, and generalization of empirical data.

Data are drawn in random fashion from the Grange, Christian Science, the Ku Klux Klan, Moral Rearmament, Father Divine's Peace Mission, and Birth Control, but with no attempt to describe each or to classify them in any way. Generalizations based on such casual use of data are interesting to the general reader, and may be helpful to social reformers, but lack scientific validity. The book is convenient and inexpensive, but not as well bound or as durable as the earlier books put out by Doubleday.

SAMUEL H. LEGER

George Pepperdine College

THREE VOYAGES. Being an Autobiography by James Peter Warbasse.
Chicago: The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1956, pp. xv+274.

A subtitle of this engrossing autobiography reads, "The Story of an Inquiring Soul Exploring His Way through Life and Living It as He Goes." The first of the three voyages is in the field of medicine and surgery, the second is in the field of reform and radical movements, and the third culminates in the field of consumer cooperation. The limitation of space forbids a review of the first two voyages.

In his 90th year (Dr. Warbasse was born in New Jersey in 1866 of Danish and English ancestry), the author writes with all the stamina, independence, sincerity, and social concern that has characterized most of his adult years. Everything that he has done reflects an inquiring mind of notable ability. His practice of keeping a diary of events and ideas since 1903 has made it possible for him to know where he was "every day during the last fifty years, with whom I associated, and often what I thought."

As a physician, the author believes that it is the doctor's function to see that people stay well, to discover disease in its early stages, and to help the sick to recover. To this end, he strongly favors cooperative medicine as opposed to state or so-called socialized medicine. Health groups organized voluntarily, employing physicians on regular salary bases, maintaining a clinic, and making regular monthly prepayments can budget their medical and hospital expenses the same as they do their food and clothing expenses, and at the same time they can enjoy the benefits of preventive medical care and longer living in good health.

The author opposes having "the cooperative movement combine with the political state," for "the natural outcome would be that the state would take cooperation under its control," which would be a calamity to the basic principles of voluntary cooperation. He opposes having the consumer cooperative movement tie up with the labor movement or any other class movement, for "the consumers are everybody," and "a society to be on a sound basis can favor no class." He opposes socialism, for it "is totalitarian" and as such "is a dangerous political theory."

Dr. Warbasse's later years have been characterized by a series of continual speaking engagements throughout the United States in behalf of consumer cooperation, for he believes whole-heartedly that "cooperation would sweep the world were it not for lack of knowledge and for ambition on the part of men to get more than they need." He has been described as a man "one hundred years ahead of his times and giving his life to help his times catch up with him." He sums up his philosophy of

education as follows: "A function of education is to get ideas from experience and then to use those ideas to create more experience from which to get more ideas."

E.S.B.

ROLE PLAYING IN LEADERSHIP TRAINING AND GROUP PROBLEM SOLVING. By Alan F. Klein. New York: Association Press, 1956, pp. xiv+176.

Role playing, according to the author, "introduces the actors as well as the observers to the situation with dramatic impact." He feels that role playing amounts to "reality practice." This is so, since role playing "draws the group from a purely intellectual exercise into an emotional experience." The entire treatise, using the term *role playing* interchangeably for social group work, is concerned with the various stages, such as the emergence of a leader, the leader "versus" the audience, and role playing's various settings and actions. The absence of any bibliographical reference material is to be regretted.

HANS A. ILLING

HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOUTHEAST. By Glenn Gilman. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956, pp. xii+327.

This is a nicely planned and well-organized study of the textile industry in the Piedmont region of the Southeastern region. Based upon the application of relevant sociological materials, the story of the mills is shown to involve a "social movement rather than an economic development." Utilizing the Geddes' "work-place-people" concept as a basis for understanding the industrial relations which have developed in the region, from the early post-Civil War days to the present, the author examines the nature of the industry within its regional setting and the folk who have been concerned with it both as workers and as managers. This has been accomplished with such facility that one of the objectives of the book may be said to have been fulfilled, namely, an orientation for supervisors, administrators, and executives into that field of industrial relations created by the region and its folk. Understanding human nature is one essential, but knowing the uniquenesses of the regional folk-workers is likewise mandatory. As significant as these are, the folkways of the Piedmont communities must likewise be taken into account. Some of these developed in the final chapter are: (1) the community expects the mill to operate despite the state of the market; (2) it expects

mill officials to contribute generously of their time and money to community schools and churches; (3) it expects the mill to sell electricity and gas to residents at cost and to charge low rents for housing; (4) it expects the mill to provide security for families stricken by serious illness. Expressed and implied are some interesting points of differences between industries under massways and those under folkways. Illustrative materials at the end of the book add to the value of this finely written account.

M.J.V.

PLANNING FOR MARRIAGE. By Oliver M. Butterfield. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1956, pp. xvii+343.

Written for students whose concern is to build their own marriages wisely, this text is designed to answer the many questions about love and marriage that arise in the process of getting ready for marriage and those that may arise later. The material covers a wide range of subjects, beginning with the question "Why plan for marriage?" The other chapters include discussions of the meaning of successful marriage and what it involves: dating, courtship, and engagement; preventing quarrels, readiness for marriage, and the problems of money and living quarters; weddings and honeymoons; early adjustments in marriage, parenthood, home management, and growth in marriage; how to meet troubles when they come; and a final chapter (for the 10 per cent who do not marry) on how to make successful life adjustment without marriage.

The author is an experienced marriage counselor. Throughout the book he draws on his many years as a minister, social worker, college instructor, and marriage counselor. The practical application of the basic knowledge regarding marriage, especially the planning for successful undertaking of marital and family relationships, is apparent in all chapters. The selected readings as well as the content of the book indicate a wide familiarity with the main books in the field. Throughout the presentation, the author is alert to differing viewpoints. He presents a sympathetic as well as a broadly scientific interpretation of divergent views regarding marriage problems. Representative books on marriage by Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and other religious groups are drawn upon in the discussion of topics which involve different religious views. The text is illustrated by interesting cartoons, drawings, photographs, and tables. The teaching aids include a semester lecture schedule, an outline of a survey of class family background, term paper projects, suggested movies and their use, a glossary of important terms, and a selected bibliography.

M.H.N.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN AMERICA: A SOURCE BOOK. By Elizabeth Bryant Lee and Alfred McClung Lee. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955, pp. 483.

The revised edition of this successful source book has been improved by the introduction of new materials, longer editorial introductions to the twenty-five chapters, and the elimination of obsolete materials. The editors do not believe that their task is to bring together a "handbook for debaters" but rather to present the best knowledge available on a given topic. Some of the readings included are very concise; hence, the student has an opportunity to read some 165 different selections in addition to the editorial materials. This source book, along with others, contributes substantially to the enrichment of teaching materials for courses in social problems.

E.C.M.

THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN. By Leslie George Housden, O.B.E., M.D. Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956, pp. 406.

This book deals with conditions past and present in England, and is divided into three parts—The Past, The Present, and The Future. The cruel treatment of children in the past is a story almost too horrible to put into print. During the nineteenth century practically every kind of cruelty was permitted to occur. Victims of overcrowding, poverty, child labor, parental drunkenness, punishment, baby farming were common.

Several societies for the prevention of cruelty were organized in the period 1884 to 1899, but only a small proportion of the cases could be handled. Meanwhile, the brutal poor law refused relief to a starving mother and her children if the father insisted on being a vagabond and declined to support his family.

Conditions have improved, but many situations are still deplorable. A total of 2,800,000 married women are at work in England. The effect on squalid homes and neglected children needs no comment. In 1952 the National Society helped more than 97,000 children. Two thirds of these were neglected, the rest were classified as ill-used.

The future requires material advancement, greater parental responsibility, more formal education, better morals, and efforts by the churches, by the state, and by private organizations to deal frankly with the needs of the people. Several appendices reveal some of the activities of the constructive agencies in this field of welfare work.

G.B.M.

RISK AND GAMBLING. By John Cohen and Mark Hansel. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956, pp. x+153.

Clarity of style distinguishes this series of interesting researches devoted to an area which has previously received but scant attention—that of subjective probability. Subjective probability relates to estimating and risk-taking behavior of individuals, based on partial or imperfect knowledge, concerning the likelihood that certain events will occur. The investigations were directed to determining factors and principles related to subjective probability and to tracing characteristic changes in these during the maturation period of children. The subjects used in the researches were school children ranging in age from 6 to 16 years and adult subjects.

A finding was that "there appears to emerge, between 10 to 15 years, four stages in the understanding of the idea of a distribution." To account for this finding, the authors ventured the following hypothesis, ". . . the stages we have distinguished in the development of the idea of a distribution partly represent mental 'structures' (perhaps in Piaget's sense of the word) that emerge at different ages and partly represent the fruits of experience. These 'structures' undergo changes during development. Shaped at the start by purely subjective preferences of one kind or another, they become less and less controlled by such subjective influences and assume a form which is more in accord with the objective situation."

The contents of this volume cover a broad field. The results of the studies and the numerous hypotheses should be of interest to those concerned with sociocultural influences upon risk-taking and estimating behavior of individuals.

T. C. KEEDY, JR.
High Point College

THE CRISIS IN WORLD POPULATION. A Sociological Examination with Special Reference to the Underdeveloped Areas. By J. O. Hertzler. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956, pp. xiv+279.

This book is for college students and interested laymen, unaware of the gravity of the world population situation. Attention is paid to the persistent historical increase of world population and to the phenomenal burgeoning of population in recent centuries. Primary consideration is given to the underlying factors and the processes involved, the social-scientific processes relating to the changes, some of their more apparent and serious effects, the play of human culture in all its ramifications as cause and effect, the national and international problems which the situation poses, and some of the proposed solutions for the situation.

The author centers population problems around the concept of "population unlimited" or a "balanced population." The demand for large numbers is considered "an expression of greed—material greed, political-military greed, the greed of religious organizations, and of ethnic groups." This "giantism" he calls a diseased condition which may strain all resources by demanding maximum utilization and lead to exhaustion of resources. It also disregards this generation's obligation to their grandchildren and great-grandchildren by the unwise increase of population. Hertzler further states that society has the problem of reassessing human destiny and human ends. Are we interested in great quantities of persons and things or do we want a "good life" for each individual and for mankind as a whole? He believes the world needs surpluses, security, freedom, opportunity, cooperation, and peace. These things in a stationary population could bring the world population to the highest known reaches of social well-being, opportunity, and intellectual and spiritual development.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

George Pepperdine College

COOPERATORS YEAR BOOK 1956. Arthur E. Jupp and Alfred R. Perkins, Editors. Leicester, England: Co-operative Productive Federation, 1956, pp. 112.

This document includes a number of important papers, for example, Labour Relations in the Co-operative Movement (J. M. Davidson), Automation and Us (Jim Boyd), Workers' Co-operative Production (W. P. Watkins), Members' Influence in Co-operative Societies (C. J. Wells), Statistical Review of Productive Societies (A. R. Perkins). In the initial paper by J. M. Davidson a plan is proposed that will bring "the employer and employee closer together" and that will yield to both the maximum benefit. In the paper by Jim Boyd it is pointed out that very few craft industries will be able "to hold out against the march of the 'electronic revolution' of automation," and that the survivors will be "jobbing" industries and those "producing for an exclusive market where costs do not matter." In his paper W. P. Watkins declares that the mission of the workers' productive societies is "to demonstrate how man can make technical progress and yet remain the master of industry." In order to overcome member apathy C. J. Wells makes a number of specific proposals, such as "the raising of member-interest to management and trading policy levels." The key sentences that have been quoted in this review from some of the papers will indicate that this is no ordinary yearbook.

E.S.B.

TREATMENT OF THE CHILD IN EMOTIONAL CONFLICT. By Hyman S. Lippman. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956, pp. x+298.

As Director of the Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul, Dr. Lippman has presented a wide variety of emotional problems that may beset a child. Replete with pertinent discussion of cases, he analyzes the various types of emotional disturbances and suggests suitable therapy for each.

He gives the schools of social work a shot in the arm when he says that the work of Anna Freud in Vienna gave convincing evidence that a well-trained, intelligent, nonmedical person is qualified to treat neurotically conflicted children. Other evidence during the past twenty years has corroborated this impression. Social case workers, without becoming physicians, can be trained in the field of direct therapy of children with emotional conflicts. They act then not as social case workers but as therapists.

Therapists are needed in all social agencies. Each chapter deals with an important aspect of emotional conflict, but the social worker is especially interested in those types that usually come to the attention of social agencies. They are especially the neurotic delinquent, the psychopath, and the child with school phobia. When social agencies enter more largely into preventive work, the other forms of emotional conflict will receive added attention.

The chapter on "Some Principles of Therapy" contains many suggestions of educational value to social case workers and others who aim to prepare themselves for the work of a therapist.

This book is a very important contribution to the literature on child guidance.

G.B.M.

CRESTWOOD HEIGHTS. A Study of the Culture of Suburban Life. By John R. Seeley, R. Alexander Sim, and Elizabeth W. Loosley, with an Introduction by David Riesman. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956, pp. xv+505.

Crestwood Heights is a detailed report of social life in an "upper-middle class" suburb (population circa 17,000) of a city (population circa 676,000 in 1951) "somewhere in central Canada." The study was one outcome of a national mental health project put forward by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. It is strictly a case study; it does not relate itself to any specific theoretical framework.

The story of how Crestwood Heights was "chosen," as well as the way many other aspects of the study were decided upon, indicates that

the procedure in general was astonishingly flexible. The approach is basically clinical rather than purely scientific in the general use of the latter term. Samples were apparently selected by a rather nebulous technique involving interaction between the researchers and members of the community rather than by a well-defined plan. Reporters were expected to indicate their biases and those of their respondents; it was felt that consensus and generalizations could be reached through a sort of canceling-out of bias. It is a study of the social life of an inadequately defined upper-middle class subcultural social constituency, inadequately defined at least for purposes of replication. The book abounds with general statements, which leads this reader to wish that more of the findings had been stated quantitatively rather than as generalities.

In spite of the above criticisms, *Crestwood Heights* will have offerings of interest to the anthropologist, but chiefly to the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

THOMAS ELY LASSWELL

Grinnell College

CRIMINOLOGY. By Donald R. Taft. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956.

For nearly fifteen years Taft's book on criminology has been a standard work in this field. This, the third edition, retains the general philosophy and theory presented in the earlier editions and also the objective approach to the data on crime, but new material has been added throughout the text and several significant additions have been made. The organization of the chapters and material has been changed. Part I deals with "The Background of Criminal Behavior," with an emphasis on the process of social interaction (beginning with chapter 2) in which culture plays an important part. The cultural emphasis is introduced earlier than in the previous editions, with an added section (chapter 3) on "Pattern-Setting by Prestigious Groups." Part II, which is devoted to "The Explanation of Crime," gives added attention to such factors as motivation and personality (chapter 6), racketeering and white-collar crime (chapter 13), and media of mass communication and entertainment, especially comic books and television (chapter 14). Other conditions influencing the crime rate are racial and immigrant group factors, economic conditions and changes, the family, juvenile gangs, alcohol and drug addiction, sex, and the positive and negative influences of religion. The theory of crime is presented as tentative, for no positive conclusions can be drawn on the complexity of factors that may contribute to criminal behavior.

More than one half of the book is devoted to the treatment of criminals and the treatment of juvenile delinquents and crime prevention. The section on the treatment of adult offenders describes fairly completely such items as criminal law, police work, jail detention, criminal courts, probation, prisons and the prison community, and release from prison. The juvenile court and institutions for juvenile delinquency are discussed briefly, followed by a more extensive discussion of preventive measures of law violation. The illustrative material and bibliographies are well selected. M.H.N.

GREENBELT: THE COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY. An Experience in Democratic Living. By George A. Warner. New York: Exposition Press, 1956, pp. 232.

The author lived in Greenbelt, served on several committees, and became its mayor. His book is dedicated, "To all who confidently struggle toward a more perfect democracy." He describes in detail, as an understanding insider, the founding of this democratically functioning community. He describes its problems carefully and answers its unsympathetic critics. He traces its growth from its beginnings in 1935-37 as a community for government employees in need of housing to its achievement of an independent community functioning under the auspices of the Greenbelt Veteran Housing Corporation on December 30, 1952. On that date its former tenants (of the Government) became homeowners and crossed "the threshold to a new and challenging future of complete self-reliance," a thriving community of 3,000 individuals.

This community was founded to a large extent on the Rochdale Principles of cooperation. It established its businesses on the basis of cooperative principles, "which make capitalists of all their members" and which lead to "the exact antithesis of state socialism." These cooperatives have achieved a remarkable success. The *Cooperator*, the city's newspaper, has made an unusual record. Only the health association has not succeeded, for reasons which are explained. The author thinks that the voluntary health-group plan will come into its own some day when the "people get fed up with our present antiquated method of dispensing medical care," and will see its superiority over federalized or state medicine. He believes that the achievements in cooperative living in Greenbelt are remarkable in view of the strong individualistic backgrounds of its members. Mr. Warner has rendered an important service to all who believe in what independent people working together can accomplish. E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

ESTUDIOS SOCIOLOGICOS. By Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales.
Mexico, D.F.: La Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1955, pp.
420.

This is a report of the fifth national convention of the Mexican Sociological Association held in 1954. As is customary with many foreign associations, the papers form a handsome volume. The theme is economic sociology, the first part being a general treatment of the subject (mostly by non-Mexican writers). The papers vary considerably in scope and in quality (to mention a few of the more adequate reports): on the sociology of consumption (Germani), employees' opinions as affecting relations with employers (Ojeda and Valiente), agricultural mechanization and rural mentality in Indo-China and France (Lazberik and Thoai), and delinquency and economics (Mendoza). The second part is directed toward the Mexican economy and is of more limited interest, but is a testimonial to the growing quality of Latin-American social research.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY: PRESENT-DAY SOCIOLOGY FROM THE PAST. Edited by Edgar F. Borgatta and Henry J. Meyer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, pp. xvii+546+iv.

Citing Shakespeare's line from *The Tempest*, "What's past is prologue," on a flyleaf of this book of selections from some of the "clear-eyed" social observers of the past gives a significant and promising clue to the contents of this work. The editors have adopted a nice form of organization for their selections, evaluated as being both intelligent and imaginative thinking, for which, one might say, there is no substitute in setting forth upon a meaningful research journey. Their structure involves the person as a social unit (Baldwin, Cooley, Piaget, Durkheim, Linton); social forms and processes (Simmel, Le Bon, Cooley); societal structures (Spencer, Cooley, Park, Veblen, Max Weber); the persistence of social structures (Simmel, W. I. Thomas, E. A. Ross, Cooley); and social change (MacIver, Mannheim, Znaniecki, Waller, Durkheim, George H. Mead). Purposely omitted, not being classified as theory, are considerations of methodology and general philosophical discussions of the nature of society. The selections included have the advantage of having been written by, shall one say, the "recognized" in the field of theory. Some critics may wonder why no Ward, Sumner, Hobhouse,

Tonnies, Pareto, and the like. Many of the chosen excerpts will be found to contain materials suggestive for empirical research, and others reveal germinal ideas for elaboration and expansion into other areas. The opening selection, Mannheim's "The Sociology of Ideas," is aptly suitable for a book on ideas. Ideas, foundation stones for all science, may be found in abundance for the looking herein. M.J.V.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. A Text with Readings. Revised Edition. By Ronald Freedman, Amos H. Hawley, Werner S. Landecker, Gerhard E. Lenski, and Horace H. Miner. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956, pp. xi+604.

The plan of organization of this new edition has been changed slightly from that used in the first edition. Each chapter has been modified to some degree and a few new readings have been included. The revision has served to simplify the style and to increase the use of illustrative materials in the body of the text. The integration of some elements of the theoretical scheme has been tightened, as illustrated by a clarification of the relationship between the concepts of culture trait and of the norm. Recent developments in theory and research have been taken into consideration by the authors.

As revised, this textbook with readings is adapted to beginning students in sociology. It is a well written and integrated volume and will maintain a high position in the field.

T. C. KEEDY, JR.

High Point College

MAN IN SOCIETY, Volume II. By Verne S. Sweedlum and Golda M. Crawford. New York: American Book Company, 1956, pp. 651.

This book is the outgrowth of combined efforts of the social science department of Kansas State College to develop an integrated course for this division of the curriculum. It is devoted to an analysis of the major controls in society, social policy, and the world society. Most of the "controls" appear to emphasize political and legal regulations. Under social policy the topics of social reform, health and recreation, and public finance are examined with considerable objectivity. A mature discussion of world problems gives the student a good orientation to some of the significant problems of the twentieth century. The book has adequate coverage of topics; however, it does not advance any important "integrating concepts" that may be considered as contributions to this area of human behavior. Almost every book in this area integrates knowledge; few have attempted to integrate at the conceptual level.

E.C.M.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Revised Edition. By Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956, pp. xvi+703.

This revised and enlarged edition of what was originally an excellent social psychology text now carries with it several changes, most important of which seem to be a greater emphasis upon the nature of personality and some additional material on the relationship between it and social structure. Aside from the Introduction, the book deals with the following: levels of symbolic behavior, motivation and learning, socialization, personality structure and change, and deviation. In the discussion on theories of human behavior, the authors flatly reject biological determinism, but in their discussion on sexual behavior they admit that "the possibility of engaging in any sex behavior is of course contained in the biological structure of the individual." Aside from this, the chapter dealing with sex behavior is a frank presentation of some materials not usually offered in an elementary text. Much attention is wisely paid to the social self and role playing as a process. Not much attention is given, however, to group dynamics as such, although the larger society figures in the chapter devoted to language and symbolic environments. Collective behavior as a single topic has been omitted from this edition. A commendable briefing of social class and behavioral organization is given. Terse summaries and bibliographical materials are furnished for the chapters. The writing is lucid, albeit sometimes marred by a faint aura of dogmatism. Illustrations add considerable interest to the text.

M.J.V.

SCIENCE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION. An Introduction to the Sociology of Science. By Gerard DeGre. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955, pp. 48.

The author "provisionally" defines the sociology of science as "the investigation of the way in which society and science reciprocally influence one another." He defines science as "a social activity through which a society interprets the cultural and natural world." He discusses such topics as the social role of the scientist, the social demands on the scientist, the sociology of knowledge. Five objects of study involved in the sociology of science are cited: "the functional interdependence of the sciences with the other aspects of man's larger culture," the "internal structure and dynamics of science," the norms, organization, and status of science in society, the nature of a sociological approach to the sciences, the areas where the social roots and social consequences of "a scientific world view may be fruitful in understanding" problems of social structure and change. The author opens up some worth-while lines of social thought.

E.S.B.

INTEGRATING SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOANALYTIC CONCEPTS: AN EXPLORATION IN CHILD PSYCHOTHERAPY. By Otto Pollak. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956, pp. 284.

This report on the second phase of the joint project of Russell Sage Foundation and the Jewish Board of Guardians to explore applications of social science thinking to child guidance tackles a purpose no less lofty and exciting than contributing to what Dr. John P. Spiegel has called "a conceptual scheme, pitched at a level of abstraction from human behavior appropriate to the unification of various points of view."

A work so scholarly and searching represents a significant contribution which, as the author suggests, should be received in a spirit of research, to which the whole child guidance field can contribute, rather than in a spirit of emotional controversy. Thus, beyond questions of structure of treatment and roles of staff members in the team are some far-reaching questions which have a direct bearing on social work education. Though the major emphasis is on family group disturbances and family treatment, and though the author recognizes that psychiatrists, psychologists, and caseworkers have approached the study of the emotional climate of groups with individual-focused perception, the social group worker is conspicuously absent. This would not be possible a few years hence, with the current trend in social work education indicating that the training of the future may well be some combination of casework and group work skills, not yet evolved in training or practice and for which there is as yet no conceptual framework.

The cultural climate of child guidance practice is changing rapidly. Three examples may be cited: the increasing number of men entering social work and joining child guidance clinic staffs, the trend toward a family care focus in contemporary medical education, and the increasing number of child guidance clinics in public school systems. The latter two developments will promote the collaborative effort with "extrafamilial" adults important to the child, and probably lessen the stigma felt so painfully by family members in the report that they kept secret from each other the fact of their clinic attendance. Hopefully, research will so increase the effectiveness of child guidance that "the second treatment year" will no longer be taken for granted.

A unifying principle is pointed out by Dr. Pollak following his review of the literature, a record of halting progress and often limited successes: the aim of all efforts, historic, current, and projected, in the important and difficult endeavor of child guidance is a widening of perception for the elements of reality significant to the performance of the helping task.

ELIZABETH MCBROOM

University of Southern California

SOCIOLOGIA DE LA MORTALIDAD INFANTIL. By Alberto G. Ramos. Mexico, D.F.: Biblioteca de Ensayos Sociológicos, 1955, pp. 252.

LAS FUERZAS SOCIALES, ENSAYA DE SOCIOLOGIA APLICADA. By Oscar A. Andrews. Mexico, D.F.: Biblioteca de Ensayos Sociológicos (no date indicated), pp. 258.

SOCIOLOGIA EDUCACIONAL EN EL ANTIGUO PERU. By R. MacLean y Estenos. Mexico, D.F.: Biblioteca de Ensayos Sociológicos, 1955.

The first document is one of a series of monographs, "Caudernos de Sociologia" (sociological monographs), published by the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales of the National University of Mexico, and is the translation of a Brazilian sociologist. Apparently his splendid volume on infant mortality has not yet reached an English-reading public, and this Spanish edition at least brings the study closer to us. He examines infant mortality from a number of viewpoints: historical, economic, ecological, and subcultural. He is especially interested in the relevance of the class structure, of folklore in various cultures, and of the problem of infant mortality in Brazil.

Sr. Andrews' work demonstrates that system building a la Ward is by no means dead. The work provides a résumé of the familiar figures (Comte, Spencer, and LeBon) and "new" theorists (Haret and Mira y Lopez) who attempt to explain by physical and geometrical analogy the concept of social force. Despite the excesses of armchair synthesizations, the book is valuable for its introduction to some of the trends of Latin-American sociology.

The last-mentioned study is a scholarly work on the formal and informal educational system of the Incas by an outstanding Peruvian sociologist-historian.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT. By Ross Stagner. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956, pp. ix+550.

A striking and provocative paragraph introduces this well-organized book on the psychological treatment of union-management relations: "The physical sciences have now achieved such success that it is possible for all men to die together. Relatively little is being done to make it possible for us to live together."

These two sentences thrust a kind of challenging dagger at much of the research being undertaken by many of the social scientists. Professor Stagner offers more than a clue as to what kind of research should be going on in the social sciences—a "collecting, organizing and evaluating knowledge from all the social sciences in so far as it bears on the

resolution of group conflicts." Hence, his book offers from the contributions of psychology and social psychology a new frame of reference for the focusing of thought upon the complex set of relationships existing between unions and management. In developing this new approach the author discusses, with reference to industrial conflicts, such subjects as perception, motivation, frustration-aggression, groups and group behavior, leadership, institutions, tactics of unions and management, the strike, and the processes of accommodation and cooperation.

Drawing somewhat upon his own experience as a member of the research team in the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois and his own broad and intensive knowledge of the many studies in the field of labor relations, he applies, as a practical psychologist, all this to the many problems confronting unions and management. Cooperation is possible and is fostered when both groups are "seeking the same goal which can be shared." It is impossible when either group accepts goals that are at variance, i.e., unions bent upon the destruction of the profit system, or management set to destroy unionization. "Industrial peace is not a Utopian dream," declares Stagner, but its achievement must depend upon the kind of leadership that arises in unions and in management, an intelligent, perceptive, emotionally mature leadership that will bring to the social situations an understanding of human beings and human groups. M.J.V.

THE STATUS SIGNIFICANCE OF AN ISOLATED URBAN DIALECT.

By George N. Putnam and Edna M. O'Hern. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955, pp. 32.

In this doctoral study the authors examine "the social status significance of a dialect spoken by an urban group whose social status was extremely low," namely, the persons over eighteen years of age living in a selected inhabited Washington alley. The alley dialect was first recorded by the various inhabitants and then played to seventy judges who assigned to each speaker a social status on a graphic rating scale. The actual status of each inhabitant was measured by Warner's Index of Status characteristics. A relatively high correlation resulted between the ratings given by the untrained judges and the Indexes. The authors suggest that persons who grow to adulthood as members of an underprivileged social group may carry a mark of their social origin through life "and as a result suffer various forms of discrimination." The highly specialized technique used in this research will challenge the attention of advanced students of social status of linguistic analysis and of the role of communication. E.S.B.

MULTIPLE LOYALTIES. Theoretical Approach to a Problem in International Organization. By Harold Guetzkow. Princeton: Princeton University, Center for Research on World Political Institutions, 1955, pp. 62.

Loyalty is as "an attitude predisposing its holder to respond toward an idea, person, or group with actions perceived by the holder to be supportive of, and/or with feelings which value the continued existence of, the object toward which the attitude is directed." Loyalties are classified as "means," as "end values," and as "conformity." Loyalty is not to be viewed as being a definite quantity that is expendable. It is expandible, and loyalty to a supranational group does not "necessarily mean decreases in loyalty to the nationstate." In other words, an international loyalty can be built on a national loyalty without necessarily destroying the latter.

VOLUME 2: GRUPPENEXPERIMENT. Ein Studienbericht. Edited by Friedrich Pollock. Introduction by Franz Boehm. Frankfurt-Main, Germany: Europaische Verlagsanstalt, 1955, pp. 559+32 tables.

This volume is based on a research of opinions, attitudes, and biases of the German population of the West German Republic toward its essential and fundamental social and political problems. This volume's importance, therefore, is obvious, as it pertains to the development of sociological methodologies and to the knowledge of public opinion in West Germany. However, this study does not employ the usual questionnaire methods, but group discussions with "free associations" based on a "stimulus." The stimulus is provided by the letter composed by an American sergeant and dealing with his German experiences. The study, therefore, is designed to open something like a first vista into the "objective spirit" of Germany of 1950; the discussions center around a mental climate, as to "what people say" and how people's opinions are formed, opinions to constitute not a rigid or frozen condition, but a stage of dynamic development and education.

The volume is divided into three parts: the first entitled "Aim, Methods, and Participants," the second, "The Quantitative Analysis of Discussions," and the third, "Monographs in Qualitative Analyses of Discussions." There is an important Appendix, dealing with methodological problems, and references to unpublished monographs, as well as directions for discussion-leaders, a research report about nonverbal "discussants," and a brief monograph about "The Aspects of Language."

HANS A. ILLING

SOCIAL PHOTOPLAY NOTES

Alexander the Great. This motion picture gives a more accurate impression of the life and events of its chief subject than is true of many other motion pictures that might be mentioned. The costuming and the acting rank high. The performance of Philip of Macedonia, Alexander's father, eclipses in some ways that of his son. The picture brings to the surface an underlying theme, namely, that Alexander's conquests were aimed, in at least a small way, to bring together the peoples and races of the then known world in one world order—a totalitarian empire, to be sure, but an unusual goal for 322 B.C.

As is so often true with this type of film, it loses strength because of its length. There is an unnecessary repetition of battle patterns. The total result is a series of spectacles and many dialogues which seem to be somewhat lacking in narrative sequence and in dramatic suspense. The life and conquests of Alexander are enacted perhaps as well as almost any other actor could do, yet it is the actor himself more than an Alexander the Great who stands forth. As a leader Alexander is seen to be a person of untiring energy and a far-searching ambition, two traits of personality which ironically led to Alexander's untimely end at the age of 33.

E.S.B.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

THE NURSE AND THE MENTAL PATIENT. By Morris S. Schwartz and Emmy L. Shockley. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956, pp. 289.

This book is written jointly by a sociologist and a psychiatric nurse. It deals with the interpersonal relations of nurses and mental patients when patients are demanding, withdrawn, subject to hallucinations, sexually disturbed, extremely anxious, suicidal. Special chapters deal with understanding the patient and communicating with the patient. Considerable light is cast on interpersonal relations in an important field of human life.

MIGRATION PROBABILITIES. By Gunnar Kulldorff. Lund, Sweden: The Royal University of Lund, 1955, pp. 46.

A migration probability is defined for a given region as "the probability that a movement starting inside the region will cross the border and end outside the region." Mathematical formulae are presented for determining migration probabilities.

THE FABULOUS FUTURE. America in 1980. A Symposium. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1955, pp. 206.

This book represents a reprinting of eleven essays first published in *Fortune* magazine. The authors are asked to discuss the question, each in his own way, What kind of world should America be trying to bring about by 1980? The roster of contributors includes David Sarnoff, George Meany, Nathan M. Pusey, Earl Warren, George M. Humphrey, Adlai E. Stevenson, Robert Sherwood, Charles P. Taft, Henry R. Luce. The writers offer an interesting variety of suggestions.

THE WARFARE OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. By Francis M. Meyers. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1956, pp. 261.

By "warfare" the author means "incompatibility among ideals." From this approach he discusses traditional empiricism (Perry, T. V. Smith, McGilvary), neo-Thomism (Maritain, Gilson), Protestant absolutism (Royce, Hocking), and instrumentalism (Dewey, Otto).

RITUAL AND CULT. A Sociological Interpretation. By Orrin E. Klapp. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. 40.

In a succinct, well-organized style, the author discusses the reasons for the mistrust of ritual and cult in modern life, the nature of ritual, the functions of ritual, the characteristic consensus created by ritual, the failures of ritual, and the place of ritual in modern life. He concludes that "ritual is a society-building force which should be used as a *tool* of organization," but it should not be allowed to become an end in itself. It is "a good servant but a bad master," and may be used justifiably "to build up desired institutions and values" and to increase "the sense of solidarity and security." The author covers a great deal of ground well within the compass of a small document.

EDUCATION FOR MATURITY. By Frederick Mayer and Frank E. Brower. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. 155.

This is a group of essays on a miscellany of topics, such as reason, morality, quest for sanity, roads to happiness, the meaning of philosophy, art, and creativity. In discussing the liberal perspective, the authors say that "the liberal is in retreat today," because of "the totalitarianism of the right and the left," and also because of "the indecision and uncertainty of the liberal position." They conclude with a personal credo.

UNDERSTANDING THE OTHER SEX. By L. A. Kirkendall and Ruth F. Osborne. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1955, pp. 48.

Discusses briefly such topics as Problems about Sex, How They Feel about Dating, Causes of Misunderstanding, and Helps to Understanding.

IRRIGATION CIVILIZATIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. By J. H. Steward and others. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1955, pp. 78.

This symposium discusses the growth of civilizations on the bases of irrigation systems and hydraulic or water power systems, particularly in Mesopotamia and in Mesoamerica.

POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION, STATE OF WASHINGTON. By Calvin F. Schmid, S. M. Dornbusch, and V. A. Miller. Seattle: Washington State Census Board, 1955, pp. viii+102.

Through the use of many tables and excellent graphs, the data based on estimates fill in the gap between the 1950 Census and the future 1960 Census in a fast-growing and changing state. Students of social change, people interested in the development of the public schools, and many other groups will find the volume replete with population data signifying the locale of social needs.

THE TEACHER AND THE CHILD. *Personal Interaction in the Classroom.* By Clark E. Monstake. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956, pp. 266.

The personal interactions between teacher and child on which this study is based were contributed by ninety-two elementary and secondary school teachers in four school systems. These case studies indicate that both teacher and pupil are freer in their interrelationships when the teacher understands the child in his backgrounds, home conditions, desires, unsatisfied longings, ambitions, and interpretations of the meanings that the different aspects of life have for him.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND PERSONALITY. By Paul H. Mussen and John J. Conger. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956, pp. 569.

This book reviews the field of child psychology in terms of genetic factors, prenatal development, the first two years, the preschool years, middle childhood, and adolescence, with an emphasis on adolescent adjustment in American culture.

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK. By Francis Hankins. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. 74.

The author, a prominent Canadian businessman, discusses fundamental rights and freedoms; the modern giants of capital, labor, and the state; the public welfare; the menace of war; ownership, management, and regulation. He suggests that "liberty will flourish better where governments regulate, rather than own, economic enterprises," but does not tackle the question of what to do when economic enterprises become so strong that they insist on the terms for regulating themselves. He thinks that the cold war will continue over a long period of trial and error until "everyone everywhere accepts a world police force capable of crushing aggression as soon as it appears," but it is difficult to foresee a time when "everyone everywhere" will accept a world police force. Perhaps something much less than a 100 per cent acceptance will be as much as can be attained.

GOVERNMENT AS ENTREPRENEUR AND SOCIAL SERVANT. By Henry J. Abraham. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. 62.

This document discusses Great Britain as an entrepreneur and also as a social servant. These two functions of government are also considered with reference to other countries, particularly the United States, where the Post Office Department is a large-scale example of government ownership and operation, where the new Atomic Energy Commission is described as "an island of socialism in the midst of a free enterprise economy" (quoted by the author), and where the medical program for veterans under the Veterans Administration is a form of socialized medicine in a country where socialized medicine is "vehemently denounced." Major space is given to the social services rendered the people by the U.S. Government.

COMPETITIVE PRESSURE AND DEMOCRATIC CONSENT. *An Interpretation of the 1952 Presidential Election.* By Morris Janowitz and Divaine Marvick. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1956, pp. 122.

This study gives an analysis of interview data concerning the 1952 national election, collected by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. The study included such topics as political competition, the impact of interpersonal pressures, the appeals of mass media. The results were evaluated "in terms of value premises befitting democratic society," that is, in terms of "the quality of the election" as related to meaningful bases for citizens and involving manipulative procedures.

BUREAUCRACY IN MODERN SOCIETY. By Peter M. Blau. New York: Random House, 1956, pp. 127.

The importance of this book is indicated in the Foreword by Charles H. Page, who points out how hierarchical administrative machinery is developing in many connections, with the pacesetters being "big business and industry, big government, massive armed forces, and, in recent years, big labor." Among the topics that are treated briefly are these: the value of studying bureaucracy, the concept of bureaucracy, irrationality of rationalistic administration, inequality in hierarchical organizations.

HUMAN RELATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. By S. W. Beardsley and Alvin G. Edgell. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. 40.

An annotated bibliography.

TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA. By Eric L. Pridonoff. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955, pp. 243.

A basic thesis of this book is that "Tito has never had any fundamental differences with communism," as stated by B. E. Ahlport in his Introduction.

DICTIONARY OF MAGIC. By Harry E. Wedeck. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 104.

THE PSYCHOSOMATIC ASPECTS OF CANCER. By Harold E. Simons. Washington, D.C.: Peabody Press, 1956, pp. 53.

RED CROSS DISASTER RELIEF. Its Origin and Development. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. 47.

TRENDS IN ECONOMIC EDUCATION. By Henry Thomassen. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. 45.

PENNIES IN THEIR POCKETS: HELPING CHILDREN MANAGE MONEY. By Sidonie M. Gruenberg and Hilda S. Krech. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1955, pp. 44.

GOVERNMENT BUDGETING. By Jesse Burkhead. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956, pp. 498.

Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL



Articles in Forthcoming Issues . . .

November-December 1956 and later

The Use of Mail Questionnaires	FRANCES G. SCOTT
Social Deviation in Honolulu	ROBERT C. SCHMITT
Social Choice and Personal Values	JAMES A. SCHELLENBERG
Attitudes Toward Desegregation	MIRIAM STROUSE AND HELEN TOWNSEND
Evaluations of Marriage and Adjustment	CHARLES BOWERMAN
Disaster-displaced Families	H. E. MOORE AND F. R. CRAWFORD
Research for Sociology Undergraduates	ROLAND L. WARREN
Behavior of Panic Participants	E. L. QUARANTELLI
A Functional Theory of Religion	THOMAS F. HOULT
Social Distance among Foreign Students	PANOS D. BARDIS
Jewish Castes in Cochin, India	H. H. SMYTHE AND T. GERSHUNY
Cultural Lag Restated	WILLIAM F. OGBURN
Older Person Adjustments in Church	ROBERT M. GRAY
Chinese Immigration Changes	ROSE HUM LEE
Redirecting Human Forces	FRANK T. CARLTON
International Trends in Juvenile Delinquency	MARTIN H. NEUMEYER
Ideal-Community Theory	HENRY ZENTNER
Present Trends in Japanese Sociology	JESSE F. STEINER
Attitudes of Negro Newspapers	MAXWELL R. BROOKS
Interviewing in Values Research	LAWRENCE PODELL

Articles in Preceding Issue . . .

July-August 1956

Seven Significant Changes in Sociology	ERNEST W. BURGESS
Reflections on Changes in Sociology	F. STUART CHAPIN
Important Changes in Sociology	JOHN L. GILLIN
A Forty-Year Perspective	FRANK H. HANKINS
Trends in a Half Century of Sociology	WILLIAM F. OGBURN
North American Sociology	STUART A. QUEEN
Fifty Years of Change in Sociology	PITIRIM A. SOROKIN
Comments on Changes in Sociology	JESSE F. STEINER
Developments in Sociology	CARL C. TAYLOR
Changes in Sociology Since 1900	LEOPOLD VON WIESE
Changes in Sociology during Forty Years	KIMBALL YOUNG
Important Developments in Sociology	FLORIAN ZNANIECKI
History of the Pacific Sociological Society	GEORGE M. DAY
Forty Years of Sociology and Social Research	EMORY S. BOGARDUS

***A penetrating survey
of the status of***

- The American Catholic
- The United States Indian
- The American Jew
- The American Indian
- The Japanese American
- The Puerto Rican in
the United States

UNDERSTANDING MINORITY GROUPS

Edited by JOSEPH B. GITTLER
Chairman, Department of Sociology
University of Rochester

In this volume, ten contributors—each an authority in his field—probe into the problems confronting six minority groups in the United States. The result is an up-to-date scientific inventory of those factors causing majority-minority tension. The book considers not only the old intolerances of race, color, and creed, but also the new ones of ignorance, underdevelopment, and stagnation. In this light, the contributors discuss unequal access to the law, education, and work. Of particular importance are the chapters on the philosophy and ethics of group relations education and on the basic principles governing the understanding of minority groups.

1956. Approx. 139 pages. Prob. \$2.75.

Send for your on-approval copy today.

JOHN WILEY & SONS, Inc.

440 Fourth Avenue

New York 16, N. Y.